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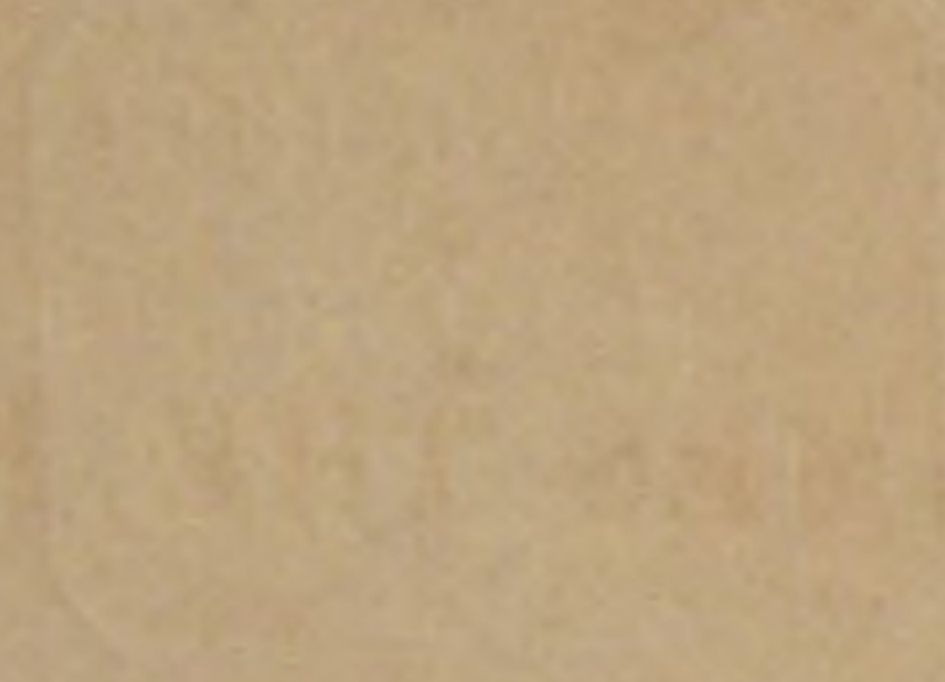
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COLLEGE LIFE

IN THE

TIME OF JAMES THE FIRST,

AS ILLUSTRATED BY

AN UNPUBLISHED DIARY

OF

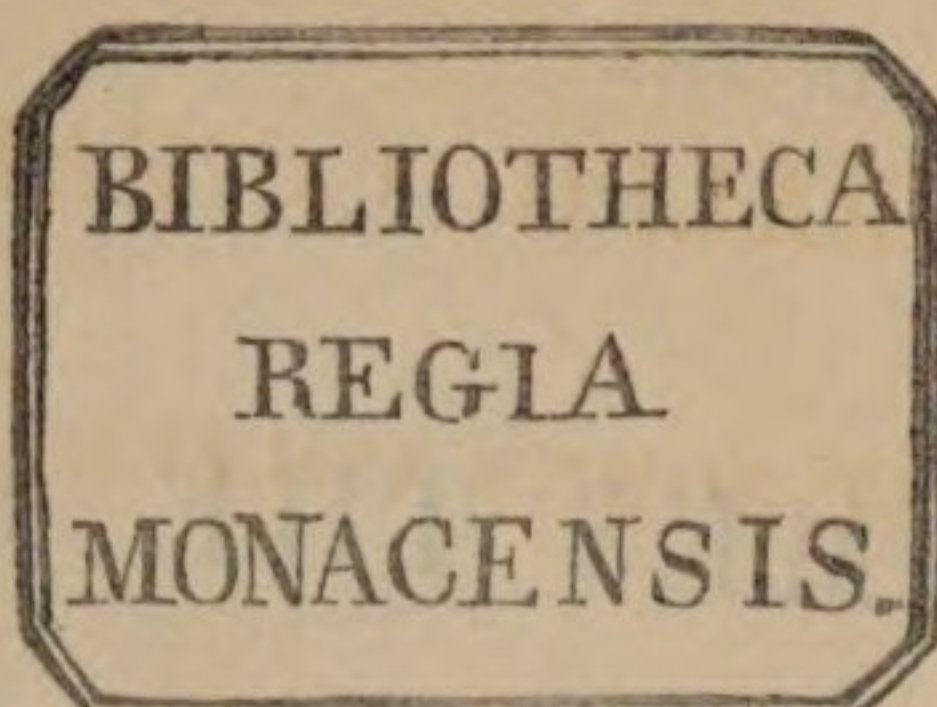
SIR SYMONDS D'EWES, BARONET, AND M.P.

FOR SOME TIME A FELLOW-COMMONER OF
ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

LONDON :

JOHN W. PARKER AND SON, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.LI.



BIBLIOTHECA

REGIA

MONACENSIS.

TO

THE REVEREND RALPH TATHAM, D.D.,

MASTER OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE,

AND TO THE REST BEARING OFFICE THEREIN;

UNDER WHOSE MANAGEMENT

THAT NOBLE FOUNDATION MAINTAINS A CHARACTER

FAR HIGHER THAN IN THE TIME OF JAMES THE FIRST,

AND NOT SURPASSED

AT ANY SUBSEQUENT PERIOD IN ITS ANNALS;

THE FOLLOWING PAGES

ARE VERY RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

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COLLEGE LIFE

IN THE

TIME OF JAMES THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY EDUCATION OF SYMONDS D'EWES, AND HIS
ENTRANCE AT ST JOHN'S.

IN presenting to our readers a sketch of the college life of an undergraduate of the University of Cambridge, in the early part of the seventeenth century, we must beg leave in the first instance to assist in placing before their mind's eye the hero of the story himself. Let them picture to themselves, therefore, a youth about sixteen years of age, having, as he complacently gives us to understand, a very well favoured and pleasing countenance, with a full and quick black eye. If they have an opportunity of watching him closely, they will find that the ball of the right eye is somewhat dilated, and that he has the misfortune to labour under a slight obliquity of vision. Although belonging to the class whom Parker called Precisians, and their enemies, Puritans, and forbidden, therefore,

CHAP. I.

D'Ewes's
person.

CHAP. I. to indulge to any great extent in the 'prevailing taste for rich and costly apparel,' his nether limbs are encased in silk stockings, which, with garters and roses to match, cost the sum of two pounds two shillings. His fellow-commoner's gown cost four pounds seven shillings. And it must be remembered that these sums were equivalent to much more than twice their amount in money of the present day. His father, Paul D'Ewes, Esq., of Stowlangtoft Hall in Suffolk, is a wealthy lawyer, holding a lucrative office in the Court of Chancery: and our hero, being the eldest son, has the prospect of a considerable fortune in right of his mother, whose name of Symonds he inherits as well as her estate.

His parentage.

His diligence at Bury School.

The last year and a half have been spent by him at the school of Bury St Edmund's, and by dint of close application he has made up, in some measure, for the time lost during the earlier period of his somewhat desultory education. His studies have been frequently prolonged while others were in bed. Between eleven and twelve o'clock one night, his father, passing through the town of Bury on his way from London, found only one person stirring therein until he came near his son's lodging, at the house of a certain dame Skinner, and there he espied the glimmering of the midnight lamp. The studious boy was called down to the door, and the father stopped for a few moments to give

him his blessing. Such industry could not be devoid of fruits. He can now construe 'our hardest Latin authors' at first sight; and his themes and verses are shewn up, much to the satisfaction of Mr Dickenson the master, 'without making a foul copy.' He is the 'captain or chief, as we call it,' of the school. But 'such is man's natural mutability,' that notwithstanding all the 'sweet content' which he has hitherto enjoyed in the pursuit of learning under a kind and indulgent master, he is disturbed by ambitious longings after college. Divers of his own standing, and some also below him, have already gone up to Cambridge, and it is with much joy that he hears at length that 'an order is taken' for his own departure.

CHAP. I.

His attainments.

On the 20th day of May, in the year 1618, accompanied by one of his father's clerks, and attended by a servant, the heir of Stow Hall rode up to Cambridge, to be admitted at St John's, under the care and tutorship of Mr Richard Holdsworth, at that time a junior fellow of the college, and afterwards a divine of considerable eminence. The journey was wet and uncomfortable, insomuch that he found it necessary on his arrival to 'shift' his hat, boots, and cloak. But after this, in company with his tutor and two undergraduates, by name Cason and Evelyn, whom he had invited to supper at the inn, he passed the evening very agreeably.

He goes up to Cambridge to be admitted.

CHAP. I. 'Whatsoever' their 'cheer' might be, their 'mirth
 1618 was very good.'

His sub-
sizar.

The next morning he was admitted as a fellow-commoner in 'the ancient and religious foundation' of St John's, and at the same time was admitted his subsizar, one Thomas Manning, the son of a clergyman, who had been 'silenced' by the three Articles of Archbishop Whitgift in the preceding reign. Several of the offices which are now performed for the wealthy undergraduates by an ordinary servant of the college, were in those days performed by a boy of inferior condition, who had been well stored with grammar learning at some country school, and was allowed to partake of the privileges and aspire to the honours of the University*. All the offices of the subsizar, which we find alluded to in this Diary, are the calling up to morning chapel, announcing at the same time 'what it is of the clock,' and the carrying out letters and messages into the town. The nobility, both male and female, were waited upon by persons of gentle birth; and they, in their turn, exacted the like services from domestics taken out of the families of the most respectable of their tenants.

* On the occasion of a visit paid to the University by James I., it is said in a contemporaneous ballad:—

'Then goes he to the Regent-house,

And there he sits and sees

How lackies and subsizars press

And scramble for degrees.'

The subordination was regular and universal. CHAP. I.
There was no degradation in it. The subsizar 1618
was not a poor student depressed to the footing
of a servant, but he was in many cases a small
farmer's son elevated to the rank of a student.
Symonds informs us that Manning was 'a most
pious and honest disposed youth,' in whose friend-
ship he enjoyed, both now and in after life, 'much
comfort,' and that he became in due course of
time 'an able and laborious preacher.'

Between the time of our hero's admission and the commencement of his residence, a cer-
tain period was required by his 'careful and
loving mother,' for the preparation of such ap-
parel as seemed fitting for his rank and condi-
tion: a process which required both time and
money. In the present case it spread over six
weeks. Having got a glimpse of college life, and
his name 'being now enrolled for an academic,'
Symonds felt impatient of the trammels of the
school-boy, and the interval proved sufficiently
tedious and irksome. An irksome
interval of
six weeks.
Lord Chancellor Eldon is
said to have described the misery he endured
in being called upon to 'stand up and construe,'
after he had been up to Oxford for admission;
and our friend Symonds D'Ewes found it much
the same. He shut himself up in his room, and
tried to read Seton's Logic: but finding himself
'unable suddenly to apprehend, and too care-
less to get by heart,' he laid down the book and

CHAP. I. shed tears over it. Even the attentions of Mr
 1618 Dickenson the master, 'friendly and debonnaire' as they had always appeared to him hitherto, became at once distasteful: and if his 'speedy removal' had not 'ended all controversy,' his recollections of Bury school would have been far less satisfactory than he afterwards found them. At length, however, Mistress D'Ewes enjoyed all the delight of a fond mother in seeing her son equipped for the journey, and entrusting him to the safe conduct of Mr Dickenson, who 'would needs' take him to Cambridge, to shew 'his more affection and unusual respect,' with a moistened eye she tenderly took her leave of him. She was now in a declining state of health, and after this she saw her son but once more.

Com-
mencement
of resi-
dence.

Symonds entered upon his residence in the month of July, immediately after the Commencement. His rooms were in the first, or, as it was then called, the 'old' court. He would have preferred the second, or the 'new' court, as being in a 'better situation, and the air more pleasant.' The third court was not yet built. His chamber-fellow was one William Cason, who had once been his school-fellow. Not only in the Universities, but in the Inns of Court also, there were usually two or more occupants of the same chamber, and a common expedient to gain room was the truckle or trundle bed, running upon low wheels or castors. In Magdalene

His cham-
ber-fellow.

College, Oxford, it is directed by the statutes, CHAP. I.
 that the scholars shall sleep in '*lecti rotales*,
 vulgariter trookyl beddys,' each under the bed 1618
 of one of the fellows. The character of his
 chamber-fellow was of course in the case of
 every freshman a matter of extreme importance,
 and careful fathers were wont to press this point
 with much anxiety in their letters to the tutor.
 In the more favourable instances there resulted
 an almost brotherly attachment. Both Jeremy
 Taylor and Bishop Hall were materially assisted
 in starting upon the career of life by their
 respective chamber-fellows at Caius and Em-
 manuel. And our friend Symonds always speaks
 of Cason as his 'loving' chamber-fellow.

The usual dinner-hour was eleven, and an
 hour earlier in the vacations. Symonds was
 'brought acquainted' by his tutor with 'Mr John He is
guided into
hall by
Mr John
Manners;
 Mannours, son of Sir George Mannours, of the
 illustrious house of Rutland, who was himself
 in possibility to be Earl of Rutland.' This gen-
 tleman, after administering 'certain most loving
 and familiar caveats' as to his behaviour, 'guided'
 our freshman into chapel and hall. He confesses,
 however, that he 'could not avoid committing'
 some of a freshman's 'usual errors and absurdi-
 ties.'

We may here observe, that the 'possibility' afterwards
Earl of
Rutland.
 terminated in reality, and that this youth at
 length succeeded his second cousin as Earl of

CHAP. I. Rutland in 1641. After sharing largely in the
 1618 perils of the times, he died at Haddon Hall in
 1672. His grandmother, Dorothy Vernon, was
 one of the coheiresses of Sir George Vernon, the
 King of the Peak: and it was as her dowry that
 the ancient mansion and domains of Haddon
 came into the family of their present possessors.

First im-
 pressions
 of the Uni-
 versity.

Our youthful moralist commences the records
 of his Cambridge life with a grave reflection,
 that 'all worldly things are better in the expec-
 tation than in the fruition.' For a while, indeed,
 the 'settling' himself in his new domicile,—the
 viewing various parts of the University,—the
 amusing himself in 'the tennis-court, the bowl-
 ing-green, and the walks adjoining the college,
 very delightful for the orderly-placed trees, and
 the fresh air in them,'—the acquiring 'a know-
 ledge' of the fellows and fellow-commoners, and
 the visiting his old acquaintance,—'all these
 toys, being full of novelty, bred a serious delight
 and a marvellous content.' Amid 'such occa-
 sions of pleasure or idleness' the time passed
 very pleasantly, as those who recollect the early
 days of college-life will easily comprehend. We
 may add also the feeling of newly-acquired in-
 dependence, and the universal respect paid to
 his station as a fellow-commoner. The 'very
 fair silver pot,' which according to ancient cus-
 tom, he was to use in the public hall, and at his
 departure to present to the College, cost the

His very
 fair silver
 pot.

sum of six pounds ten shillings. It was probably the fate of this silver pot to be melted up for the supply of King Charles's exigencies in the year 1642, when the college sent off for that purpose a quantity of their plate to the amount of more than a hundred and twenty pounds weight. Cromwell, who had got scent of the booty, endeavoured to waylay the messengers between Cambridge and Huntingdon: but he was out-witted, though in his native county, by the generalship of a country clergyman; and the treasure was safely laid at the king's feet at Nottingham. Among the rest was a silver tankard which had once been the property of Lord Fairfax*, at this time one of the king's most inveterate opponents.

On July 9th Symonds was matriculated. The entry of his matriculation has been extracted from the Register of the University by Thomas Hearne the antiquary, and may be seen in his *Liber Niger Scaccarii*. On July 19 died Bishop Montague of Winchester, who had formerly been the Master of Sidney College. Upon this prelate, whom he styles 'a goodly bishop and an orthodox,' Symonds had the honour of being

* The plate belonging to Jesus College was buried in the earth, where it lay in safety until the year 1652: and it is recorded that the sum of one pound, eight shillings, and two pence, was expended by the Master 'in entertaining those that discovered it,' and twelve shillings given to those who dug it up.

CHAP. I. requested to write an elegy, which he did much
 1618 to his own satisfaction: and he has also the
 Verses on satisfaction of recording, that on his revision of
 Bishop the verses at a more mature age, he found
 Montague. 'very little to amend therein.'

Arrival of
 ill news.

But the delightful career of the freshman, in itself too short, was cut still shorter by the arrival of 'ill news.' He had been looking forward to a visit from his 'loving mother,' and he now hears that she is prevented by an 'exceeding' illness from leaving home. If the father of Symonds was ill-tempered and avaricious, his mother was gentleness and goodness itself; and it was to her that he looked, not only for general advice and aid in his difficulties, but also for such contributions as would eke out the scanty supplies of money allowed him by his father. The tradesmen of those days were shy in giving credit, even to fellow-commoners; and Symonds felt a delicacy in applying for money to his tutor. For Mr Holdsworth, although 'truly religious, and a great scholar,' was 'no fore-handed man,' so that 'layings-out' might have been 'unwelcome' to him; and Symonds, being the son of a rich father, 'to whom it would be no benefit to be indebted to others,' abstained from troubling him.

Dangerous
 sickness of
 his mother.

Soon after this he was disturbed about midnight out of a sound sleep by a 'loud and continued' knocking at the door. Had not his

chamber-fellow been lying in another bed beside him, he would have been 'very much affrighted.' 1618
 As it was he lay still for a time, 'calling out twice or thrice to know who was the author of the noise.' The voice that replied was recognized by him as that of Mr Cuthbert Johnson, one of his father's clerks; upon which he 'presently conceived that there was some ill news.' He then arose, and opened the door, being yet only in his shirt, and let the messenger in; who, without another word, entreated him to dress by the light of a candle which he had brought in his hand, as speedily as he could. After a little while, in answer to Symonds's eager and anxious enquiries, the man told him that his mother was 'dangerously sick,' and that she desired to see him. As soon as 'this tragical discourse was ended,' having 'apparelled' himself amid 'many fears and tears,' Symonds desired that his tutor might be called. Mr Holdsworth gave him comfort and advice 'to the best of his power,' and having made them 'eat a little repast to enable them for travel,' he set them out upon their journey about five o'clock in the morning. So hard did they ride, that Symonds's 'little gray nag' which he had brought with him 'out of the West country,' was 'spoiled in the journey.'

His immediate journey home.

As soon as they had alighted, Symonds met his father and one of his cousins in the inner court-yard, 'their eyes standing full with tears.'

CHAP. I. According to the good old custom, the first thing
 1618 he did was to ask his father's blessing; after
 which he was conducted to his mother's chamber,
 to receive her blessing also. She was so much
 wasted that he scarcely knew her. Perceiving
 him to look at her so earnestly,—‘Aye, child,’
 she said with a ‘decaying’ voice, ‘thou hast a
 sick mother.’ To this he answered ‘with silent
 tears.’ She gave him much wholesome advice,
 and ‘her last admonishment,’ which he prays God
 he may never forget, was, ‘to lead a godly life,’
 and to use his best endeavours ‘for the further-
 ance of the same end’ with his sisters also. To
 some one who would fain have persuaded her
 that there was yet hope, she replied, ‘Thou art
 deceived; for thou seest me here that am flesh
 to-day and earth to-morrow.’ Soon after this
 ‘she sank away, with as little noise, or striving,
 as if she had fallen into a mere slumber.’ The
 last duties were performed ‘very religiously, and
 with much solemnity, fitting the great estate she
 had brought:’ divers of the neighbouring gentry
 being invited, and the great multitude of those
 who came voluntarily being ‘entertained or re-
 lieved, according as each man’s condition re-
 quired.’ She was interred in the upper part of
 the chancel of Stowlangtoft Church, near the
 south wall; and in due course of time her hus-
 band was laid beside her. A most impressive
 sermon, in which a lively description of her

His mo-
 ther's
 death-bed.

Her fune-
 ral.

‘many eminent gifts and graces’ was drawn for CHAP. I.
 the imitation of the hearers, was preached by 1618
 her favourite minister, Mr Chamberlain.

It would have been a happy thing, both for D'Ewes's
affection
for his
mother.
 her husband and her son, if this excellent woman
 had been spared to them; for they both loved
 her, and over each she would have exercised
 a salutary control. Symonds never mentions her
 name without some special token of his regard.
 On one occasion, about three years after this,
 he meets accidentally with one of her letters to
 him, so redolent of ‘motherly love’ that he
 ‘could not refrain from kissing it often, with
 tears.’ And even her money-loving husband was
 heard repeatedly to declare, that if he ‘could
 have redeemed her life with the loss of his
 whole estate,’ he should have accounted it ‘a
 happy exchange.’

But there was ill blood between Symonds His father
refuses to
pay for the
furnishing
his cham-
ber.
 and his father, even before he returned to his
 college; and Symonds was convinced, that if
 the silver pot and the fellow-commoner's gown
 had not been already purchased, he should not
 have been allowed to return at all. The college
 account which he had brought with him, although
 it contained nothing more than ‘necessary
 charges,’ many of them incidental to his entrance
 upon the chamber, and such as would, in some
 measure, be paid back to him on his ‘coming
 away,’ Paul D'Ewes at first positively refused

CHAP. I. to look at; and it was not until the last moment,
 1618 when he saw the youth ready to depart in his
 'mourning apparel,' the 'sure index' of his 'sad
 heart,' that he relented, and gave him the money
 to discharge it.

College
 salting.

Symonds has not left it upon record on what
 day he underwent the initiatory ceremony of
 'salting,' but it would probably be about this
 time. It appears, from scattered notices in the
 diary, that when the Salting took place, all the
 undergraduates were assembled in the Hall, and
 that certain senior Sophisters were selected from
 them as 'Fathers,' to each of whom were assigned
 a number of freshmen as 'Sons;' and that by
 these was enacted a sort of burlesque upon the
 public exercises of the schools: those who 'did
 ill' being compelled to drink a certain quantity
 of salted beer. At the salting at Pembroke Col-
 lege, in August, 1620, one of the fathers, and
 two or three of the sons, did 'excellently well.'

At Merton College, Oxford, in Anthony Wood's
 time, the freshman, being stripped of his gown
 and band, and made to look 'like a scoundrel'
 as much as possible, was set upon the high table,
 and required to address the audience in a hu-
 morous speech. If he succeeded in tickling
 their fancy by some 'pretty apothegm, or jest,
 or eloquent nonsense,' they rewarded him with
 a cup of caudle from a brass pot which stood by
 the fire. If his performance was pronounced

College
 salting at
 Oxford.

indifferent, they gave two drinks, the one of caudle, and the other of salted beer. And if it was 'downright dull,' they gave him the salted drink only, 'with some tucks to boot:'—the tuck being an abrasion of the skin, from the chin to the under lip, with the thumb nail. After this, the senior cook administered an oath to each, upon an old shoe, and when the freshman had reverently kissed the shoe, he was entitled to take his place among his seniors. It may be supposed, that such meetings would afford opportunity for excess: and in consequence of this, by one of the early statutes the *cæremonia saliendi recentes scholasticos* had been prohibited. The prohibition, however, does not appear to have been absolute. Symonds tells us, that at Pembroke 'a great deal of beer, as at all such meetings, was drunk,' and that he, although 'in no whit distempered' in his brain, yet got but little rest during the night; which had the salutary effect of making him cautious ever after, as he had ever been before, 'to avoid all nimiety in this kind.' The practice was in some degree recognized by the authorities, for Symonds informs us, that they 'exceeded in Hall,' on account of the 'salting.' And we find not a few instances of the charge for the 'salting' introduced into the tutor's accounts. Our hero paid the sum of three shillings and four-pence.

CHAP. I.
1618
Statute on
the subject.

The long vacation was spent at college. To-

CHAP. I.

1618

Difference
with his
father re-
specting an
allowance.

wards the end of it, Symonds was sent for down to Stow Hall by his father, in order that they might come to some understanding respecting an annual stipend. The old man had proposed fifty pounds; which Symonds averred was not sufficient. But although Mr Holdsworth, his tutor, went down with him to back his claim, they could not get the father to listen to any proposal of an advance. Sixty pounds would have satisfied them. Symonds accepted, however, the offer of fifty, 'rather than be at an uncertain stipend:' for he foresaw that 'any disbursements or layings-out would breed great discontentment,' whenever they should be called for: and he returned 'very solicitous' to college.

A similar
difference
between
Lord
Keeper
Guildford
and his
father.

A similar disagreement upon the subject of stipend took place between Francis North, afterwards the Lord Keeper, and his father Sir Dudley North, who was D'Ewes's friend and fellow-collegian. While the young man was a student in the Temple, his allowance was sixty pounds, and when he was called to the bar, it was reduced to fifty. Upon this the young lawyer remonstrated with as much pertinacity as our friend Symonds; and at length he received a letter which he opened with the impression that it contained an acknowledgement of the justice of his claim. All it contained, however, was the following pithy sentence:—'Frank, I suppose that having by this time vented all your dis-

content, you are satisfied with what I have done.' CHAP. I.

And in after life, Frank acknowledged that if 1618
he had been sure of a hundred a year, he
should never have been a lawyer, and, therefore
never Lord Keeper.

The means, however, of Paul D'Ewes were far more ample than those of Sir Dudley North, whose father, the second Lord North of Kirtling, was still living. And it affords some proof that Symonds's discontent was not altogether unfounded, when we find him, twenty years after this, making precisely the same complaint. He acknowledges, at the same time, that his father's parsimony was productive of good, inasmuch as it caused him to 'avoid unnecessary acquaintance, idle visits, and many needless expenses.' Those who had the greatest allowance were often the most apt to exceed their allowance; like a friend of his own who was thus 'brought into decay,' and at last driven to serve as a soldier in Bohemia. And although when he happened to fall in with some child of a 'too indulgent' parent, and saw him 'in his rich apparel, and his man after him,' while he himself appeared 'in good ordinary clothes,' and without a servant, it struck him now and then that 'it would have been fitter if it had been otherwise;' yet in general he found that it 'bred' in him humility, and that he was induced 'to prize and to seek after other comforts of a nature more divine

D'Ewes's
subsequent
reflections
on his
father's
parsimony.

CHAP. I. and excellent.' When we find him, however,
 1618 obliged to pass the book-sellers' shops with a
 Prevented longing eye, and 'constrained to abandon two
 thereby great volumes of Keckerman,' because he is at
 from buy- the time actually 'in want of necessaries:' and
 ing books. when we are told that he is obliged reluctantly
 to decline the offer of Professor Downes, to assist
 him in the study of Greek, because his 'small
 means' would afford 'no worthy requital,' we
 cannot but acknowledge, that if the well-stored
 purse of Paul D'Ewes had been opened some-
 what more freely, its over-flowings would not
 have been very ill laid out.

CHAPTER II.

SKETCH OF THE CONDITION OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE
IN D'EWES'S TIME, WITH NOTICES OF SEVERAL
MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY MENTIONED BY
HIM.

THE reputation of St John's College, which CHAP. II.
1586—1595
had stood high during Elizabeth's reign, and
especially under the mastership of the celebrated
William Whitaker, was now on the decline. His
successors, Clayton, and Gwynne the present
master, were men of only moderate abilities.
Whitaker is pronounced by the Non-juror, Ba-
ker,* whose bias in regard to the great ques-
tions of church doctrine and government was
quite on the other side, to have been, never-
theless, one of the greatest men the college ever
possessed. He was originally of Trinity College.
As Trinity owes Bentley to St John's, so St
John's owes Whitaker to Trinity. He was re-
commended to the college by the Queen; not-
withstanding which, the fellows at first ventured
upon 'that very rash and false step,' as Baker
calls it, of choosing for themselves. The Queen's
candidate, however eventually carried the day;
and even the bitterest of his opponents must

State of
the college
under the
mastership
of Whit-
aker.

* See Baker's 'Succinct and impartial account of St John's House,' in manuscript, in the British Museum.

CHAP. II. have lived to acknowledge that her Majesty's
1586—1595 choice was a wise one.

Whitaker's
learning,

and his
judicious
manage-
ment.

In fact, he was looked upon as little less than a prodigy in learning. At the age of thirty-one, he was the Regius Professor of Divinity. His controversial writings against popery were text-books with all Protestant divines, and Cardinal Bellarmine pronounced him to be the most learned heretic he had ever met with. In the government of his college, he was equally pre-eminent. He found it occupied by a host of bitter opponents, jealous of his authority, captious in scrutinizing all his proceedings: but his straight-forwardness and lenity so won upon them all, that at last he had no enemies left to overcome. The petty factions into which they had been divided were broken up. He took care that the rewards of learning were impartially distributed, and by his example he endeavoured to make the fellows prudent and learned men like himself. The system of bribery which of late had been shamelessly practised, he utterly suppressed. He would often be present while the tutors were lecturing; administering to the students, as they required it, his encouragement and advice. The college so prospered under his government, and students flocked into it so fast, that it became a little university in itself. No fewer than thirty-eight fellow-commoners, as Baker seems to have made it appear, entered

the college at the same time:—more, he ob-
 serves, than it ever numbered before, or will
 probably ever number again.

That he had some of the ‘old leaven’ brought
 over from Geneva by his predecessors the Pilk-
 ingtons and the Levers, who were Lancashire-
 men like himself, Baker does not attempt to
 deny. He reluctantly acknowledges, indeed,
 that certain meetings held in the college by the
 disaffected party, who were then engaged in
 correcting and finishing their Book of Discipline,
 were even connived at by him. That his two
 wives were chosen out of Puritan families, and
 that some of his most intimate associates were
 men of that party, appears to be an unquestio-
 nable fact. Possibly the virulence of his Romish
 controversialists may have driven him to take
 refuge in the camp of those who were scarcely
 less virulent on the other side. And his eulo-
 gist, Baker, has much besides this to say in his
 justification. With regard to his intimacy with
 Cartwright, he avers that all the influence which
 Whitaker had gained by this intimacy, was em-
 ployed in turning away the edge of Cartwright’s
 fierce and angry temper from Whitgift, and
 directing it against the Church of Rome. Whit-
 aker is said also to have spoken latterly of Cart-
 wright’s writings without much respect. With
 regard to the charge brought against him by
 Fuller, of giving promotion to men in the College

CHAP. II.
 1586—1595

His leaven
 of Geneva.

His con-
 nexion
 with Cart-
 wright.

CHAP. II. who were more distinguished for their reputed
 1586—1595 religion than for scholarship, Baker says, that
 of all the masters of the College against whom
 this charge has been brought, there is none less
 likely to have given way through easiness of
 temper, or to have been imposed upon by ‘sanc-
 timonious dunces,’ than Whitaker. And in one
 of his public theses he defended a principle
 which is the main support of our ecclesiastical
 polity, as opposed to the platform of Presbyteri-
 anism. But after all, his leaning toward Cart-
 wright’s party is reluctantly admitted by Baker
 to remain a blot upon his character, in other
 respects almost perfect.

Whitaker’s
 death.

He died in the year 1595, in the prime of
 life. His funeral-oration was delivered by the
 learned Thomas Bois; and Bishop Hall, then a
 young man at Emmanuel, wrote an elegy upon
 him, in which the sun is given to understand
 that he may now set for ever. Although Whit-
 aker had been twice married, he never brought
 his wife to the Master’s Lodge: strictly com-
 plying with Queen Elizabeth’s injunction, which
 Baker evidently approves.

Clayton’s
 mastership,
 1595.

To succeed him in the Mastership, Alvey,
 afterwards the Provost of Trinity College, Dub-
 lin, and at this time the leader of the Puritan
 party in the College, was chosen by the fellows.
 But their choice not being approved of at Court,
 Dr Clayton, the Master of Magdalene College,

and like Whitaker and his predecessors, a native CHAP. II.
of the County Palatine of Lancaster, was at 1595—1612
length elevated to the vacant dignity. Whatever
Whitaker may have been, Clayton was no Puritan.
But in spite of Baker's decided preference of
Arminianism in the abstract, he is constrained
to say that the Arminian master was 'vastly the
inferior' of the two. He was active in secular
business, but no scholar; and while the college
increased in buildings, it diminished in reputa-
tion. Overjoyed with the erection of their new Erection of
the second
court.
court, the fellows neglected all other studies
for the study of architecture. The contem-
plative quiet of the house was broken with axes
and hammers. When an increase of room had
been provided, there was no longer any want of it.
The most that Baker finds to say of Clayton is,
that he was no worse a Master than the one
who came after him.

In the year 1612, about six years before the Dr Gwynne
elected
Master.
1612.
time of D'Ewes's entrance, Clayton died; and
by the election of the fellows Dr Owen Gwynne,
a Welchman, was chosen to be his successor.
Baker thinks that he was indebted in some
measure to the intrigues of his countryman,
Williams, who had also been his pupil, and of
whose adroitness in the art of climbing we have
abundant evidence in his own subsequent career.
All the better sort of men in the College admit-
ted Gwynne with grief and reluctance, for they

CHAP. II. would have desired a nobler choice. Morton,
1612—1633 Carey, and Senhouse, afterwards the Bishops of Durham, Exeter, and Carlisle, were all eligible, and the former two were candidates. But Baker has little doubt that the first qualification which the electors looked for was good nature and easiness of temper; that they did not want a governor, but one who would submit to be governed. And those who governed Gwynne were neither the best of the society nor the wisest. He shewed more concern for the revenues of the College than for its character. It will be seen that even our undergraduate casts a slur, in one or two instances, upon Gwynne's administration; although in another place he mentions the fact of three pupils being admitted under one of the fellows at one time, as an evidence 'how our house flourishes.' Three distinguished persons were students at the same time during Gwynne's 'præfecture;' the Earl of Strafford, Lord Falkland, and Lord Fairfax; but this, as Baker intimates, was 'mere chance.' He was not deficient in courtiership, and doubtless profited by the more experienced guidance of his former pupil, Williams. In presiding at an entertainment given by the College to Prince Charles and the Elector Palatine he gave much satisfaction; and in 1621 it was confidently reported that he was to be appointed to the bishopric of St David's. But Laud, a candidate under the favour of Bucking-

ham, carried the day. Gwynne died in 1633, CHAP. II. 1612—1633 leaving to his College no legacy whatever, except his name; ‘and that,’ says Baker, ‘adds no lustre to our annals.’

In the appointment of his successor there was a serious feud in the College: the seniors, at the recommendation of the Crown, electing a Mr Lane; and the juniors, by a majority of votes, electing our friend D'Ewes's tutor, Holdsworth. Baker, although no friend to Puritanism, of which Holdsworth was somewhat suspected, and although in most other cases an advocate for the nomination of the Crown, says that Holdsworth was by far the more eligible candidate of the two. After a tedious struggle, and a vain attempt on the part of the Heads to arbitrate, a third person was summarily elected by Royal Mandate. This was Dr Beale of Pembroke, one of the Laudian school of divines. In the election of Gwynne's successor the college is divided. Our friend D'Ewes about the year 1635, in referring to a certain class of ministers whom he designates anabaptistical, and of whom he says, that ‘their noisome and corrupt teaching of justification by works, freewill, and Christ's bodily presence in the Lord's Supper, caused his soul to fetch many deep sighs,’ brings forward the head of his old college as a specimen. ‘One Dr Beale,’ he says, ‘has caused such a general adoration to be practised to and towards the sacraments, that many godly fellows and scholars

Beale
elected.

CHAP. II. of the house have left their places in order to avoid the abomination.'

Arrow-
smith the
Master.
1644.

D'Ewes
renders ser-
vice in Par-
liament to
the Univer-
sity.

Tuckney's
Mastership.
1653.

But Beale himself was at last displaced by the Earl of Manchester; and in his successor Arrow-smith, D'Ewes would find a more congenial spirit. It is to be observed that in his place in the Long Parliament, D'Ewes took much pride in standing forward on all occasions as the advocate of the interests of his university: and that besides delivering a set speech upon her claim to a foundation of higher antiquity than the sister university of Oxford, he rendered her a service of more practical importance by carrying through the house, with the assistance of Selden, an order for the taking off the sequestration which had been laid upon her revenues in the year 1643. With Tuckney, at that time Master of Emmanuel College, and afterwards of St John's, he kept up a long correspondence; borrowing, through Tuckney's mediation, various Saxon manuscripts from the University Library, to aid in the great historical work which he had then in hand*; and presenting in return certain Roman coins and medals, in virtue of which presentation he is commemorated as a benefactor to the University on solemn occasions down to the present day. Under Tuckney's Mastership of St John's the college flourished. Baker says,

* A general history of Great Britain:—he did not live to complete it.

that his discipline was good, and that he ‘was CHAP. II. held in as much reverence as any master ever was.’ The annals of the college in his time are graced by the two illustrious names of Stillingfleet and Beveridge. As Vice-chancellor, he adopted vigorous measures for the propagation of the gospel in America, and for the conversion of the Indians. At the Restoration, a set of the younger fellows forgot the gratitude which they owed to the venerable old man who had ‘brought them on in their studies’ by his encouragement, and they so undermined his authority by complaints lodged against him at Court, that he resigned his mastership, partly through vexation, and partly through fear; and having a pension allowed him out of the stipend of his successor, he ended his days in retirement.

The President, or Vice-Master, of St John’s, during Symonds’s undergraduateship, was Richard Senhouse, afterwards the bishop of Carlisle; a divine who gained some posthumous notoriety by the sermon which he preached in Westminster Abbey, at the coronation of his patron Charles I. He was of an ancient family still resident at their mansion of Nether Hall, in a village of Cumberland called by Baker Alnborough, but to modern ears more familiar as Ellenborough; and the bishop’s ring is still preserved in the family as an heir-loom. ‘He was no courtier,’—says Baker,—‘nor ambitious;’ and when honours came

Senhouse,
the President of St
John’s.
1620.

CHAP. II. to him unsought, 'all that he did was not to refuse them.' He suffered the college intrigues and petty factions to take their course, 'caring little to make them subservient to his own advancement.' Although in Baker's opinion eminently suited for the mastership, he appears to have lived contentedly within the walls of his college, without ever aspiring to it; not making light of the ease and comforts which surrounded him, nor willing to emerge from his retirement except when solicited by others. Some one has recorded of him the following characteristic story.—Having once at his table certain friends who were in danger of quarrelling over the discussion of a point of difference between two writers of antiquity, he interrupted them by observing that after all it was a difference which might easily be reconciled, as he would satisfy them in a moment. Retiring therefore into his study as if for the purpose of reference, he summoned the disputants immediately afterwards to follow him, and there he exhibited to them the authors in question quietly reposing on the table with a cup of sack between them.

His character.

He was fond of fishing; a taste probably acquired among the lakes and rivers of his native Cumberland. *Ex piscatione nihil mali*:—was an apophthegm frequently addressed to him by Symonds, who was also a brother of the angle. He held his bishopric only two years, dying in

1626, 'neither an old man nor a rich one,'— as CHAP. II.
 Baker says. Symonds was present at the Coro-
 nation sermon in 1625, but he 'could not get
 near enough to hear much of it.' Baker speaks Senhouse's
sermon at
the coro-
nation of
Charles I.
 of it as sufficiently florid, and rather too discour-
 sive. In after times it was the fashion to discover
 omens of evil in the sermon, as well as in certain
 other parts of the ceremonial. In the first place,
 the pageantry was less gorgeous than it had been
 on former occasions; which was held to augur
 a reign of humiliation. The golden dove of peace
 was found with one of its wings broken; and
 the robe in which the king presented himself
 to the people, instead of being the royal purple,
 was the martyr's robe of white. The text of
 the sermon was:—'I will give thee a crown of
 life;' and its main subject was the vanity of all Much
talked of
afterwards.
 earthly possessions. Whether the preacher had
 any misgivings as to the future fortunes of his
 royal master, or not, he may have felt that his
 own career was drawing to its close; for in less
 than a year after this he was gathered to his
 fathers. 'To his college,'—says Baker—'he left
 the fame of his erudition and acquirements; and
 he who does this,'—adds the same partial bio-
 grapher, — 'must not be accounted either an
 unprofitable or an ungrateful member of the
 society.'

As chaplain to prince Charles, Senhouse
 appears during Symonds's undergraduateship to

CHAP. II. have been looked up to in the college as an authority in all matters relating to the Court; and in reference to the contemplated marriage of the prince with the Infanta of Spain, it was received with joy by many, and by Symonds among the rest, that Senhouse had heard the prince say at his own table, that 'he did not think that a papist could be a good subject, much less a good wife.'

Professor
Downes.

One of the
translators
of the
Bible.

His great
learning.

Among other distinguished members of the college at this period was Andrew Downes, the Regius Professor of Greek; pronounced by bishop Montague to be 'a walking library,' and referred to by Selden as one of the most learned among the translators of the Bible. Dr Parr observes that Dr Isaac Barrow also had a very high opinion of Downes's scholarship. Besides having his allotted portion with the other twenty-four in the translation of the Bible, he was one of the six appointed as general reviewers of the whole work. He also assisted Sir Henry Savile in his noble edition of the works of St Chrysostom. Symonds speaks of him as having the reputation of being the ablest Grecian in Christendom, 'at least of such as are not natives of Greece;' and he says that Joseph Scaliger had acknowledged this, after receiving from him an elaborate epistle 'upon some difference that had occurred between them.' He was now somewhat advanced in years, being upwards of seventy. Baker

says that when he came to St John's, the know-
ledge of Greek was almost entirely lost; partly
owing to the change of religion, and partly
to the theological controversies which occupied
men's attention to the exclusion of everything
else.

CHAP. II.

Downes was no less remarkable for an eccen-
tricity of manners and temper, than for his
erudition. The six reviewers of the translation
of the Bible held their meetings in London;
but Downes would not move from his quiet fire-
side at Cambridge to join them until he was
threatened with a pursuivant. And he con-
tracted an invincible dislike for his learned pupil,
Thomas Bois; simply because he had persuaded
himself that Sir Henry Savile thought more
highly of Bois's assistance in the editing of
Chrysostom, than of his own. When Symonds
first called upon him, 'at his house, near the
public Schools,' he found him reading, with his
hat on, and his legs upon a table. 'His carriage
was homely,' says Symonds, 'for he stirred
neither his hat nor his body, only taking me
by the hand.' As a preacher his performances
were but little to the taste of the sermon-fanciers
of the day: and it is said that when, upon one
occasion, his audience so far forgot the respect
due to his character and his office as 'to begin to
jeer,' he came down from the pulpit uttering a
solemn and audible asseveration, that no one

Downes's
eccentri-
city of cha-
racter.His atti-
tude of
study.His preach-
ing.

CHAP. II. should ever see his face in that place again. He
 His person. is described by Symonds, as being 'of an extraordinary tallness, with a long face and a ruddy complexion, and a very quick eye.'

Symonds attended Downes's lectures upon the oration of Demosthenes *de Coronâ*, but his attendance after a while became somewhat irregular. On one occasion, after he had been for some time absent, he received an intimation that the Professor had noticed both his former diligence and his present falling off, and that he was willing to assist him in his study of Greek, if any assistance should be required. To this intimation, and also to a similar one which was sent afterwards, Symonds made no reply. At length, when the Professor had sent, by the hands of a bachelor in divinity, 'a scroll containing certain notes of his last lecture,' Symonds called upon him at his house near the Schools, as before mentioned.

D'Ewes's
 interview
 with Professor
 Downes.

The conversation between them appears to have been somewhat desultory. The Professor happened at the time to be reading Terence, in 'a little volume with a large comment;' and after shewing this book to Symonds, he asked him where he had been at school. He then discoursed to him upon certain derivations of words, and told him that 'cat' is derived from *καίω*, which signifies 'to burn,' the eyes of a cat 'being fiery.' They then talked about Demosthenes; and the Professor having quoted a passage from

Hermogenes, made a fruitless search for it in CHAP. II. the book. At last, when Symonds saw clearly that the Professor's aim was to induce him to join certain others in coming to his house for a private lecture, he found himself obliged, in consideration of the low state of his finances, to cut the matter short. After professing himself, therefore, as indeed he felt himself to be, sensible of the Professor's kindness in making the proposition, he stated that his continuance in the University was likely to be only for a brief period, and that, knowing as he did how vain it would be to look for any proficiency in Greek without much time and labour, he found himself unable to accept it. The Professor seeing that he was 'not inclinable,' soon dismissed him; expressing his regret that so promising a student should be taken away before

The Professor wishes to have D'Ewes for a private pupil.

Pabula gustasset Trojæ, Xanthumque bibisset.

A little while after this they again met in the street, and had some discourse upon the manner in which Demosthenes 'replied to the exproba-tions of Æschines.' Symonds 'strained a little' with his other engagements in order to attend the last lecture which the Professor delivered in the term, and this was the last also at which Symonds was present.

Downes published his lectures upon two de-tached orations of Demosthenes and Lysias. When king James died, about six years after the

Downes's lectures.

CHAP. II. present time, the aged Professor gave utterance
 His elegies to his sorrows, both in Greek verse and in Latin;
 on King and he added these productions to the published
 James. elegies of the University. In the latter, which
 certainly lacks somewhat of the grace of Ovid,
 he apologises for the king's profusion to his
 favourites, by representing it as one of the special
 prerogatives of royalty, to 'fill the hungry with
 good things:' and in the former, which is of
 more classic composition, he says that Peitho sat
 upon the lips of the departed monarch, as upon
 the lips of Pericles, and that a stream sweeter
 than honey flowed from his lips. The poor old
 man, now approaching his eightieth year, con-
 cludes with a pathetic deprecation of criticism.
 Two years after this he resigned his Professor-
 ship. He survived the resignation but a very
 short time, and was interred at the village-church
 of Coton.

His death.

Holdsworth,
D'Ewes's
tutor.

An elo-
quent
preacher.

Another distinguished member of the college at this period was Holdsworth, our friend D'Ewes's tutor. This learned and eloquent divine became one of the most celebrated preachers of his day; and even now, although he was under thirty, his sermons were 'by general approbation deemed extraordinary.' So says our friend in his Diary on the occasion of his tutor's 'coming up in St Mary's' for the first time; and when Holdsworth went down into Suffolk, and preached at the village-church of

Stow-langtoft, he did it 'so sweetly and profitably' CHAP. II.
 that Symonds 'began to love him even better
 than ever.' Soon after this he became domestic
 chaplain to the Lord Chief Justice Hobart, and Chaplain
to Lord
Chief Jus-
tice Ho-
bart.
 we find Symonds frequently calling upon him at
 that judge's residence in the precincts of St Bar-
 tholomew's. He then was presented to the
 rectory of St Peter-le-poor; and we are in- Rector of
St Peter-
le-poor.
 formed by his biographer, that whenever he
 preached, the moisture might be seen standing
 upon the very walls and pillars of the church in
 sympathy with the tears that stood in the eyes
 of his crowded auditories. He was appointed Gresham
Professor.
 Reader in Divinity at Gresham college, and all
 the learned men in London flocked to his lec-
 tures. In 1633 he was elected, and became
de jure, Master of St John's: and four years
 afterwards we find him *de facto* Master of Em- Master of
Emmanuel.
 manuel college. Such was the confidence placed
 in him by the University, that in those three
 most critical years, 1641, 1642, 1643, he was
 elected their Vice-Chancellor. He was one of
 the few episcopal clergy who were nominated as
 members of the Assembly of Divines. In the Ejected by
Cromwell.
 year 1644, he was ejected from his mastership,
 and soon afterwards committed to the Tower.
 While he lay in the Tower he was elected by the
 University to the Margaret Professorship of Margaret
Professor
of Divinity.
 Divinity; and the king also made a special re-
 quest that he might attend him as his chaplain

CHAP. II. at Holdenby house: but neither of these offices was he allowed to accept. Notwithstanding the efforts made, even by friends of the parliament, for his liberation, he was kept in the Tower for four years. An earnest appeal in his behalf was made to our friend D'Ewes himself, by Dr Brownrigg, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, and bishop of Exeter; who represented it as a work worthy of D'Ewes's eloquence, to make intercession with that most honourable assembly, for a person at the same time so dear to himself, and so ill to be spared by the University. It is suggested, that if Selden and D'Ewes, the antistites of polite letters, and the hierophants of antiquity, should unite in asking for the boon, surely the humanity of an illustrious senate would not refuse to grant it. Whether or not the final liberation of Holdsworth was in any degree owing to D'Ewes's intercession, does not appear. He seems to have fallen under the especial displeasure of Cromwell. After regaining his liberty he waited upon the king at Hampton Court, and accepted from him the nominal appointment of dean of Worcester, though in better times he had declined a bishopric. Being already worn out with grief and hard usage, he sank under the shock which came over him on hearing of the king's death. His estate he bequeathed to pious uses, and his books to the college.

In the
Tower for
four years.

Receives
from the
King the
Deanery of
Worcester.

His death.

Holdsworth is said to have been of a comely CHAP. II.
 person, with an expressive and pleasing counte- His dispo-
 sition and
 person.
 nance. His disposition was kind and affectionate. Symonds always speaks of him as his 'loving
 tutor,' and records the sense he entertained of
 his love and humility in 'walking' with him and
 making him his 'equal fere.' Over the undis-
 ciplined mind of Symonds he exercised a salutary
 control, and he continued to give him friendly
 advice by letter, long after their connexion as
 tutor and pupil had ceased to exist. His visits His great
 kindness to
 D'Ewes.
 at Stow-langtoft, were always looked forward to
 with pleasure; and when Symonds was smarting
 there under a very severe disappointment, the
 most effective consolation that he received, was
 from his old tutor, Holdsworth.

Among the other distinguished members of
 the University mentioned in this Diary, we find
 the 'divine' George Herbert. Symonds attended George
 Herbert.
 his lectures as Prælector in Rhetoric, and also
 dined in company with him, after he had been
 appointed Public Orator, in the hall of Trinity
 College, at the Commencement in 1620; on
 which occasion they both 'hasted back' to the
 public exercises 'before the dinner was well
 ended.' Of the lectures of Herbert, we are in- Prælector
 in Rheto-
 ric.
 formed by bishop Hacket, that their subject was
 one of the orations of king James, in which the
 courtly Prælector pointed out the various cha-
 racteristic proprieties and excellencies of the true

CHAP. II. kingly eloquence, and remarked how utterly unknown they were to all 'the hirelings and demagogues and triobolary rhetoricians' of old. The profound respect manifested by Symonds on many subsequent occasions for king James's abilities, may perhaps be attributed in some degree to Herbert's encomia. It may be observed that the office of Prælector in Rhetoric was at this period one of considerable importance; and that the election of the several lecturers which took place on St Barnabas' day, excited much interest throughout the University. It was a feather in the cap of bishop Hall, to have been chosen Rhetoric lecturer for two successive years.

Lectures
upon the
royal elo-
quence of
King
James.

Professor
Davenant.

Symonds attended also with much satisfaction the theological lectures of the Margaret Professor, Dr Davenant, in which 'the vain absurdities,' or as he elsewhere styles them, 'the blasphemies,' of Arminius and Bertius, and 'the rest of that rabble of Jesuited Anabaptists,' were detected, and Symonds was confirmed in those peculiar doctrines which he held with unflinching resolution to the end of his life. He tells us that Davenant had just returned from the Synod of Dort, and that the object of that Synod was 'to exterminate the heresy of Arminius.'

His Calvin-
istic lec-
tures.

Dr Gooch,
Master of
Magdalene,
and M.P.

Another dignitary of the University with whom Symonds came into contact, was Dr Barnaby Gooch, a personage of high considera-

tion, inasmuch as he was the master of Magda-
lene College, the Chancellor of the Diocese of
Worcester, and one the representatives in Par-
liament of the University during the whole reign
of James I.

CHAP. II.

for the Uni-
versity.

Early one morning, even before he was up, came a messenger to tell Symonds that Dr Gooch wished to see him. Being aware that there was some acquaintance between the doctor and his father, Symonds, although a little surprised at first, dressed himself without a moment's delay, and 'before eight of the clock' he was already in attendance at the Master's lodge at Magdalene. But it was a full 'one quarter of an hour' before the doctor came to speak to him. This was more than his pride could bear without murmuring: and although he very promptly set about the business upon which he had been sent for, which was 'to pen a line' to his father, he could not abstain from criticizing the doctor's 'deridable stateliness;' angrily setting down the apology which he had made for himself as a 'pretty complimentary falsehood.'

Dr Gooch
sends for
D'Ewes.

In another place Symonds tells us the following anecdote. About ten years before the present time, it happened that Williams, afterwards the Lord-Keeper, held the office of Proctor during Gooch's Vice-Chancellorship: and that in the discharge of this office he exhibited an independence of manner somewhat offensive

Anecdote
of Gooch
and Arch-
bishop Wil-
liams.

CHAP. II. to the authorities. Upon this the Vice-Chancellor requested him to pause and consider what he would find himself as soon as the year of his Proctorship should be at an end. 'Marry,' replied the Welchman, 'I shall be as honest a man as you; and if you wait a few years longer, perhaps I may be a better man than you.' The self-sufficiency betrayed in this retort will appear somewhat less egregious, when we remember that Williams had already got his foot upon the ladder of promotion. He was appointed chaplain to the Lord-Keeper Ellesmere during the present year of his proctorship.

Honey-
wood after-
wards Dean
of Lincoln.

Symonds records his having played at tennis in Christ's College with one of the fellows, by name Honeywood, 'an honest man, and an extraordinary scholar, such as few in the University could be found like him.' There was evidently a fellow-feeling between D'Ewes and Honeywood, and they distinguished themselves in after life as two of the most distinguished book-collectors of their day. Honeywood became Dean of Lincoln, and to the library of his cathedral, which had been partially destroyed by fire, he contributed munificently; adding, also, what was styled by Dibdin a 'nose-gay' of venerable Caxtons. The dean's portrait, by Jansen, still adorns the room in which these treasures were deposited.

After their game at tennis, the future Dean

of Lincoln, and the future member of the Long Parliament, dined together with one of the fellows, by name Bambridge. This Bambridge was the severe Master of Christ's College, complained of by Milton:

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Bambridge
afterwards
Master of
Christ's.

Nec duri libet usque minas perferre Magistri,
Cæteraque ingenio non subeunda meo:

the inflicter of that ignominious chastisement,—if, indeed, that chastisement was actually inflicted,—which Dr Johnson, in his life of Milton, was ashamed to relate, though he feared it to be true.

D'Ewes was Milton's senior by about six years; and if such an event as a flogging had occurred in D'Ewes's time, he could scarcely have passed it over unnoticed. If it occurred at all it must have been a rare event, and for its rarity it would have been jotted down. Whenever D'Ewes himself entered the 'stagnum' of the Cam, for the purpose of bathing, he was amenable to a statute of 1571 which denounced this punishment; and yet he seems to have done it daily without fear. The last decree in which it is mentioned had confined it to the cases of *non adulti*, and we have not much difficulty in persuading ourselves that in all cases it had now fallen into disuse.

Question as
to the pu-
nishment of
flogging.

Acquitting Dr Bambridge, therefore, of the graver charge, and leaving him to answer for himself, to the charge of having rusticated the

CHAP. II. young poet, we proceed to state, that these three friends spent the time together most agreeably, refreshing their palate with 'cooling fruits' and their mind with pleasant conversation. The weather was so extremely hot, that 'no one had any great will to go to study.' After a while Mr Honeywood took Symonds to his chamber to shew him 'many excellent books,'—doubtless the nucleus of the library at Lincoln: and after they had played a game at chess together, Symonds returned to his room much gratified by the afternoon's entertainment.

Other acquaintance
of Symonds.

Of Symonds's other acquaintance among the fellows, we may mention Micklethwaite of Sidney College, afterwards the preacher at the Temple; Beeston of St John's, private tutor to his friend Lord Wriothsesley; and Jeffray of Pembroke, the lecturer of Little St Mary's, at whose sermon Symonds made a point of attending on the Sunday afternoon, with as much regularity as he attended the University sermon at Great St Mary's in the morning. In matters of a religious character he always resorted to Jeffray for advice; and many profitable hours were spent in his room at Pembroke, of which we shall find further notice.

CHAPTER III.

ACQUAINTANCE AMONG THE UNDERGRADUATES, TOGETHER WITH SUNDRY INCIDENTS IN THE FIRST YEAR.

OUR hero was fond of society, and ‘disposed to refuse no overtures:’ in reference to which disposition his tutor found it advisable to give him ‘a most loving caution;’ warning him, with Aristotle, that though there may be acquaintance with many, there can be real friendship only with few. Symonds strictly acted upon his admonition; and in process of time he became so well satisfied that ‘the fashion of visiting and being visited overmuch’ was a ‘great fault in the University,’ that towards the end of his stay ‘he discontinued it almost wholly.’ At table in the college-hall he made a point of endeavouring to ‘sort’ himself with the fellows, and especially such as were of ‘honest and scholar-like’ conversation. He avoided ‘the idle and ridiculous, —nay, even profane talk,’ which prevailed at the President’s table, and chose the Bursar’s instead. The pedantry and solemn priggishness of D’Ewes were fair subjects of ridicule; but from his complaint that ‘all good men are hated and evil spoken of,’ there is reason to fear that his religious life and conversation furnished to

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some of his companions as much sport as his foibles. Such probably were two fellow-commoners by name Kirkby and Wentworth*, of whom he records in 1620, that the College is 'much beatified' by their departure.

Henry
Wharton.

One of his earliest friends was Henry, a younger son of Philip the third Earl of Wharton, whose grandson was the great Parliamentary General. The eldest brother of Henry Wharton fought a bloody duel with his friend Sir James Stuart, in which both of the combatants were slain; and by the King's command they were buried in the same grave at Islington. Henry Wharton himself, having accompanied Sir Henry Wotton in one of his foreign embassies, died at the court of the Emperor Ferdinand in 1620. Soon after his departure from England Symonds expresses his satisfaction that his friend had not started 'upon any rash humour or without security,' but was 'under the care of a discreet and worthy gentleman.' They corresponded by letter, and seem to have held each other in mutual regard.

Sir Dudley
North.

Sir Dudley North, the eldest son of Dudley the third Baron North of Kirtling, was another of Symonds's associates. This youth was one of the twenty six scions of nobility who attended Prince Charles at his inauguration as Prince of

* Probably one of the numerous brothers of Lord Strafford.

Wales, and were created knights of the Bath. Sir Dudley after leaving college served in the Palatinate under Sir Horace Vere. In the Long Parliament he sat for Cambridgeshire, and with his friend D'Ewes he was ejected by the army in 1648. The remainder of his life he spent in a sort of bookish retirement, having a large family and a scanty allowance. He was sixty-three before his father's death put him into possession of the estate, and he found it much impoverished. At the age of sixty-three he sat on the steps of the throne in the House of Lords, as the eldest son of a peer: and to the last he always stood uncovered in his father's presence, until bidden to cover himself and to sit down. He married into the rising family of Montague, and his father praised God that 'the beginnings' of his son Dudley were 'as well, if not better' than 'ever yet had been any' of their house. 'His constitution is tender and infirm,'—says the father,—'but his mind is bent to the more noble speculations and generous thoughts*.' The successful fortunes of his own sons, as depicted in one of the most interesting biographies which we possess, are too well known to require any further notice.

The silver bowl which Sir Dudley North presented to the college as his fellow-commoner's

* See a work, entitled "*A Forest of Varieties*," published by Lord North in 1645.

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gift, is mentioned specifically among the articles of plate sent to King Charles at Nottingham. He seems to have retained through life a regard for the old house : for he sent up his son Francis in 1653 as a fellow-commoner, and in 1669 his name appears among the contributors to the erection of the new Library.

Lord Wrio-
thesley.

Another of our hero's college friends was Lord Wriothesley, the son of that hot-headed Earl of Southampton who figures so conspicuously in the adventures of the Earl of Essex, and is said to have been a patron of Shakespeare. He was born at a period when the Earl stood high in Court-favour, for the King was his godfather. With this young man Symonds was on terms of intimate familiarity. 'In the shade under the great walnut-tree at the back of our college,' they were accustomed to sit together when the weather was sultry, spending the time in 'pleasant and familiar chat.' They played at tennis together ; and after supper, 'in Lord Rislye's chamber' they sometimes indulged in a game at cards. The more important subjects of their conversation are now and then alluded to : and it will appear from the following narrative, that although Symonds freely acknowledged his friend to be 'not less happy in inward accoutrements, than great in outward birth,' he was jealous of any assumption of dignity to which the claimant was not strictly entitled.

One evening, as they were walking together after supper, Sir Dudley North being also one of the party, they ‘began to discourse’ upon the noble family of Herbert. Philip, a younger brother, had been created Earl of Montgomery, being ‘the first that ever bore that title;’ and William, the Earl of Pembroke, the present representative of the family, was one of the most accomplished men of the age. It was remarked that they had been Earls of Pembroke as early as the time of Edward the Fourth. ‘And yet,’ says Symonds, ‘my Lord Rislye began to aver that his own father was the better.’ This pretension, on the part of one whose ancestry had been commoners until the reign of Henry VIII., Symonds held to be ‘almost ridiculous.’ He did not deny that ‘my Lord Rislye’s father is a most noble and religious gentleman.’ In ‘the Queen’s days’ he had a ‘deep hand’ in the troubles of the Earl of Essex, who was a favourite with the Puritans; and on that account he is now ‘the better beloved.’ But ‘my Lord Rislye’s mother, now living, is only a knight’s daughter.’ She was once ‘waiting woman to the old Lady Rich, mother of the Earl of Warwick, who was thought to be no better than need constrained.’ And thus ‘it is true,’ as one of our old chroniclers says, ‘that every king is the descendant of a beggar, and every beggar, if

Lord Wriothesley’s
ancestral
pride reprehended.

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he could tell all his progenitors, might produce his line from a king.'

Character
of Lady
Rich.

Whatever may have been the spirit in which Symonds thus investigated his friend's ancestry, he has not recorded anything but what is strictly correct. The old Lady Rich was by no means a perfect character. She was known in Elizabeth's court as Penelope Devereux, the beautiful daughter of the noble but unhappy Walter, Earl of Essex; and by him designed to become, 'in case their hearts should be so moved,' the wife of his young friend Sir Philip Sidney. She was moved, however, to become the wife of a very different husband, namely, the narrow-minded but opulent Lord Rich. It is satisfactory, for the credit of Sir Philip Sidney, to find that the sonnets, which some have supposed to have been addressed by him to this lady after her marriage, were believed by Southey to have been addressed to another person. She did not, however, prove a faithful wife. Under circumstances of aggravated criminality she left him, and was married, by the Earl's chaplain, William Laud, to Walter Blount, Earl of Devonshire. The celebration of their marriage proved for some time a bar to Laud's promotion; and the King told the Earl to his face, that he had got for his wife 'a fair woman with a black soul.'

It was by no means, therefore, a libel upon

‘the old Lady Rich,’ to say that she was ‘no better than need constrained.’ With regard to ‘her waiting woman,’ also, Lord Wriothesley’s mother, Symonds said truly, that she was ‘only a knight’s daughter.’ Yet that knight was a Vernon, tracing his descent from one of the eight barons of Hugh Lupus. And as to her connexion with Lady Rich, she was ‘waiting woman’ at a period while as yet the mistress was without reproach, and most probably without guilt. The second, and eldest surviving son of the Countess of Southampton lived to be perhaps one of the greatest, and certainly one of the best men of his time. Her daughter Penelope, so called after her former mistress, became the wife of Lord Spencer; and from her the noble families of Spencer and Marlborough derive their descent.

When Lord Wriothesley left College, it was his father’s intention to send him with his tutor into France, and our friend Symonds seems to have entertained the idea of being admitted into the party. But the Earl got involved in troubles at Court, and the scheme does not appear to have been carried into effect. After Symonds became a student in the temple, he still kept up his acquaintance with Lord Wriothesley; and he frequently mentions his walking up Chancery Lane to Southampton House in quest of the latest and most authentic news. On one of these occa-

The intimacy with Lord Wriothesley continued in London.

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sions Lord Wriothsesley informed him of his election to be 'a burgess of Parliament;' and on another, that a great friendship had sprung up between his father and the young Earl of Lincoln. This last piece of information it rejoiced Symonds to hear; 'for they were both very religious and faithful Protestants, such as the world called Puritans.' On another occasion Symonds noted down in the diary his admiration of 'the delicacy of body and discreetness of discourse and carriage' of two 'noble ladies' of tender age, whose company he had enjoyed in the walks of Gray's Inn. These were Lord Wriothsesley's sister, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lady Anne Rich; and Symonds 'easily perceived in them how much is added by good instruction and bringing up.' The latter became the wife of the Earl of Manchester, and, according to Clarendon, she was the cause of his final estrangement from the Court.

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When the Earl of Southampton was apprehended and placed in custody at the Deanery house of Westminster, through the machinations of Buckingham, to whom he had given offence in the House of Lords, the Countess and her son went to Court with a petition for his release, which the King answered with some degree of asperity. Symonds was informed that 'two base sweep-houses belonging to him, who were recusants,' had been examined against him; but

that the result and subject of their examination were a secret. Some time after his liberation he undertook the command of one of the four regiments raised to assist Prince Maurice against the Spaniards in the Low Countries, and his son Lord Wriothesley accompanied him. But scarcely had they joined the expedition, when the son fell sick and died of a fever; and the father died shortly after at Bergen-op-zoom while bringing home his son's body to England. Thus the Earl's second son, Thomas, found himself most unexpectedly raised to fortune and rank. He was made Lord High Treasurer by Charles the Second, who is said to have stood in awe of his lofty and virtuous character. At the time of his death Pepys tells us that there was 'great talk that no Lord Treasurer had ever died with so clean hands.' By his death the peerage became extinct: but his daughter Rachel has added an interest to the name of Wriothesley which is imperishable.

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Death of
Lord Wrio-
thesley and
his father.

One of those whom Symonds made his 'entire friends' was Mr Gervase Neville, 'of that great Saxon family who were once Kings of Northumberland, having their residence at Raby Castle, and by whose assistance Edward the Fourth recovered his crown from the House of Lancaster.' With this youth, 'of carriage debonnaire, of learning equipollent, of disposition sweet, and of humility unaffected,' Symonds enjoyed a 'happy

Gervase
Neville.

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III.

D'Ewes's
intention
to smite
friendly.

society,' both at college, and afterwards at the Inns of Court. When Neville was about to make his final departure from college, and his friends had assembled to take leave of him, a certain 'overture' occurred which may serve to illustrate both the manners of the age, and the character of our hero himself. Having received 'some wrong' from a gentleman from whom he 'had once expected the greatest friendship,' he 'decreed to requite' himself upon the offender the first time they should meet; and he determined that his weapon should be one 'which does no great harm,'—to wit, his 'fists.' Not that his intention was to proceed with any degree of 'rancour,' but merely in such a loving way as should 'clean eradicate all kind of malice or distaste' between them. Meeting him, therefore, at the chamber of Mr Neville, Symonds immediately resolved that before they parted this scheme of friendly discipline should be carried into effect. But scarcely had the resolution been formed, when the unconscious object of it came up to him so frankly, and 'used so loving speech, with action so affable,' that his mind was at once 'clean altered,' and he 'strove for a mutual correspondency.' As Godwin says in his Annals, of the Protector Somerset, who had got into the sick chamber of his rival Dudley with the intent to murder him,—*'cum humaniter ac benevole acceptus fuisset, vir miti ingenio,*

pœnitentiâ ductus, quod destinaverat exequi noluit, atque inde re infectâ discessit.' And whether it might be that he was afraid lest the fortune of war might have gone against him, or that he really spoke from the impulse of a generous and forgiving spirit, Symonds has added,—'I was not a little glad of his sudden mutation.'

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Of our hero's other acquaintance we can say but little. At Christ's College he had a friend, by name Scargill, a good scholar, and the possessor of sundry curious books. In a company at the same College he also met with a Mr Dorrington, who was shortly about to go to Spain in the suite of the ambassador; and he preferred a little 'solid discourse' with this gentleman to the noisy and unseemly mirth of some others of the party, who amused themselves by 'playing upon the ignorance' of a Master of Arts, of thirty years standing, 'who was a notorious dunce, and could hardly speak true Latin.' Symonds was acquainted also with a Lady Jermyn, who resided 'two miles from our Academy:' and with a mercer in the town by name Craddock, a brother-in-law of 'that arch-divine of our times, Mr Perkins,' and a man in whom he perceived 'truer characters' of honesty and religion 'than in any layman before or since.' This Craddock, it may be observed, was in March, 1620, 'sued with an execution of

Other
friends of
D'Ewes.

The bro-
ther-in-law
of Perkins.

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III.

bankrupt by some Londoners with whom he dealt,' though in the estimation of the world he had been accounted rich : and Symonds informs us that many expressions of grief and 'good ejaculations' passed between himself and Mr Jeffray on the subject, when they were 'assured of it.'

1618

A comet.

One morning in the month of November, somewhat early, when Symonds went to his Tutor's chamber to prayers, they espied at the window, looking eastward, 'a very coruscant and unusual star.' Mr Holdsworth, 'not without some presaging astonishment,' presently conceived it to be, as indeed it proved to be, a comet; but another of the fellows, by name Ollerenshaw, who had the character of a great mathematician*, said it was only Venus at the full. 'It grew soon after to a length so formidable, in the shape of a fox's tail, as to fill men's minds with dismal conjectures.' It was believed by many to have some mysterious connexion with the Bohemian war. Symonds thought that it was a presage of coming evil, either to his Tutor or to himself, inasmuch as they were the first persons in the College who saw it. 'I may not presume,' he says, 'to think that the divine

* Ollerenshaw, a Derbyshire man, may possibly have been of the same family with a more recent genius of that name and county, who spent a long life in a search after perpetual motion.

hand brought me to so early a sight of this portentous star; but this is most certain, that it was scarce withdrawn from men's view, before I fell into the greatest danger I ever escaped during my life.' What the danger was, we shall see shortly.

In the meanwhile the comet became the subject of universal interest. Whatever else it might portend, it portended the conversion of all orders of men into astronomers. The 'early fiddling knaves' who perambulated the streets with their Christmas-music,

—'of flutes and hautboys made them Jacob's staves,'

—forgetting their vocation. Astronomical calculations were forwarded from one place to another in such plenty, that Charles's wain rode in the carrier's waggon. So says the facetious Bishop Corbet. And he conjures his learned friend, the Lord High Admiral's Secretary, to send him some information respecting the nature of comets, else the present comet will certainly portend a quarrel between them. It is recorded that King James was enlightened on this point by Dr Gostlin, the Master of Caius College, at this time the Vice-Chancellor of the University, whose illustration of the subject gave the royal mind perfect satisfaction.

But we must proceed to the narrative of that sad disaster which soon after befel our hero,

CHAP. and which it was by him supposed that the
III. comet had portended.

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He tells us that in one of the inner turrets of St John's, 'on the left hand as you enter in at the college-gate, where the stone steps lead by a descent into the court-yard,' there is a little bell, which is rung, 'besides other times, every morning both winter and summer, at six of the clock.' The bell itself, he says, 'was given to the college by Robert D'Evereux, Earl of Essex, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth;' who, although himself a member of Trinity College, seems to have thought that her neighbour ought to bear away the bell. The modern story about Mat Prior is a mere freshman's invention. Upon this bell our hero must needs acquire the art of ringing. On the morning of St Thomas's day, being awake 'when the bell first rung out,' he suddenly gat himself up, and half dressed himself, and dark as it was, he 'hasted to the turret, without so much as once committing himself to God by any short ejaculation.' The person who rang this bell stood upon 'a half pace in the narrow staircase, which was both incommodious and dangerous;' and Symonds taking the rope from the sub-sizar who was then ringing it, rang until he was weary. Although cautioned of his danger, he ceased not to ring, until he could 'neither guide the rope,' nor his 'own body;' and at last, the rope becoming twisted round his foot, he was 'hoisted up

An accident in ringing the college-bell.

from the ground,' and the crown of his bare head was 'pitched upon the stones.' The sub-sizar in his sudden fright ran away, leaving him for dead. Returning, however, upon second thoughts he gently took him up in his arms, and carried him to his chamber, and sent for his tutor. One Dr Allott, a learned surgeon, and an 'ancient fellow of the House,' was also summoned. For some hours he lay senseless, having at intervals 'many fearful and ghastly fits of convulsion,' during which he 'screamed aloud through the extremity of his anguish,' and abundance of blood flowed out at his ears. Several times did Dr Allott prepare to leave him, 'verily believing that some of the sharper convulsions were the pangs of death itself.' And his 'sad' tutor at once despatched a special messenger to his father in London.

After a time it was determined by Dr Allott and one Mr Lichfield, a skilful surgeon of the town, who had also been called in, that the part of the bone which pressed, as they conceived, upon the brain, should be cut away. Having found 'a dint' in the skull, they shaved the part, and prepared water to wash it, and were proceeding to fasten his arms, that he 'might not interrupt their terrible dissection.' The 'cruel instrument' was just about to commence its work, when to their great surprise, he who had spoken 'ravingly' all the day before, told them

D'Ewes
narrowly
escapes
trepan-
ning.

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that the depression in the skull was 'an old hurt,' and desired them 'not to meddle with it.'

At first they paid no heed to anything that he said, thinking that he was raving still. But it happened, by a direct interposition of Providence, as Symonds had persuaded himself, that the previous evening, as he was standing before the hall-fire, which was 'on a round hearth with charcoal,' with some other fellow-commoners, one of the fellows, by name Chambers, having laid his hand upon Symonds's head,—'an action otherwise too light, and inconsistent with his usual gravity,'—had felt this depression, and inquired how it came. It happened also that this Mr Chambers, whom Symonds had informed in reply that it was caused by a fall in his infancy, was at this very moment present. And it happened too, that though he was 'a little low man,' and might easily have been hidden from his view by others, the eye of Symonds, 'though weakened by so many convulsions,' was 'guided to spy him out;' so that he desired Dr Allott to ask Mr Chambers whether it was not true. As soon as Mr Chambers had confirmed the story, Dr Allott ceased to 'intermeddle' with him, and left him to his rest. There ensued a mitigation of the pain, and he got some sleep: 'the brain being cooled' by the abundant effusion of blood. The next morning he was able to converse 'sensibly and rationally;' and in the evening of

that day he felt so little pain that he 'failed not to make a very liberal supper.'

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His father, in the mean time, was setting out from London, fully expecting to find him already dead. The tutor's letter had been delivered to him just as he was going to dinner with a Christmas party; and amid the condolences of his guests upon an event which they all conceived to be too certain, he immediately set out for Cambridge. He was accompanied by his eldest daughter, and they got that night as far as Ware. The next day, meeting with one 'whose habit shewed him to be a scholar,' they enquired, 'What news from Cambridge?' 'None' he replied, — 'excepting that a fellow-commoner of St John's was slain two days ago by ringing of the college-bell.' They concluded upon this that all they could now hope for, was to arrive in time to attend the funeral. But riding on a little further, they met another scholar, who in answer to their question, 'What news?' replied; 'None but good.' 'What!' said D'Ewes senior, 'has not a fellow-commoner of St John's College been slain lately by the ringing of a bell?' 'No, sir,' replied the scholar; 'I am of that college, and I know him well; and but this morning before I came out from Cambridge, I heard that he is very well recovered.' Having given him many thanks for his good news, they left 'the gentleman,' who was of Hertfordshire, and by

D'Ewes
senior
sent for to
Cam-
bridge.

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name Hanchett, and rode on with no small joy. Whether they met old Hobson by the way, on horseback as was his custom, with his 'long tilted wain' rumbling by his side, we are not informed. The present time was not far from the commencement of that 'ten years full,' during which Death is said to have

'Dodged with him betwixt Cambridge and the Bull.'

But the rate of travelling was so slow, that the old carrier's news would probably have been too stale to afford any relief to their anxiety. Although this journey which they had undertaken was believed by them to be a journey of life and death, it was not concluded until the evening of the third day. Five days had now elapsed since the accident occurred, and they arrived in college just in time to see him whom they had expected to find a corpse, briskly stepping into the hall to supper. On the day following an entertainment was given in Symonds's chamber, and the money which Paul D'Ewes had brought for the burial, was expended in festivities;

An agree-
able sur-
prise.

—'the funeral baked meats

Did coldly furnish forth the marriage-tables.'

The next morning the two travellers again mounted their horses, and bade adieu to Cambridge; and we have no reason to suppose that either the old gentleman or the young lady were at all the worse for their cold and tedious journey. Neither does it appear that our hero

felt at any time afterwards any ill effects of his accident, either 'in pain of the outward parts, or in weakening of the inward faculties.'

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According to ancient custom the festival of Christmas was kept with much state and hospitality for the period of twelve days; but the only part of it to which we find special allusion made in this Diary, is the Latin play, entitled 'Stoicus vapulans,' which 'was very well acted in the hall of our house.' The Latin play formed an important feature in the series of entertainments. The place of acting, whether it was the college-hall, as at St John's, or the chapel, as at King's, was appropriately fitted up: and the performance was superintended by a sort of Master of the Revels, whose authority extended over the whole of the twelve days. Roger Ascham, in describing the grandeur of one of the continental cities to his friends at St John's, tells them that it surpasses all other cities, as much as their own hall when decorated for the play at Christmas, surpasses its appearance in ordinary. The play of *Stoicus vapulans* was an allegory, and not remarkable for sprightliness. The scourgers were the passions, who tortured the poor Stoic in all kinds of metre, until the epilogus exclaimed most opportunely,

Christmas
festivities.

The Latin
play.

'Spectatores! vidistis jam satis Stoicum vapulantem.'

Symonds does not mention his having been present at the representation of this comedy.

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Probably he was absent for conscience sake.

The spectacle of young men 'writhing and unboning their clergy limbs to all the antics and dishonest gestures of Trinculos, buffoons, and bawds,' might be as little to his liking, as it was to Milton's. When Milton's party came into power, there was a strict prohibition of all such performances, on pain of a public flagellation. In the chastened modification of the ancient festivities which is still kept up at Christmas, an officer is usually elected from the fellows to superintend the ceremonial of the combination-room; and in him we recognize a shadowy representation of the once-important Master of the Revels,—the Abbot or Lord of Misrule.

John Port
Latin day.

We find it recorded, that the ancient college-festival of 'John Port Latin Day,' was celebrated with due form. 'Our foundress,' says Symonds, 'hath dignified this day and St John's day at Christmas with two bounteous dinners. Before our good cheer we had an excellent clerum at St Mary's, preached by my good friend Mr Micklethwaite, of Sidney College. And after the feast in hall was ended, all the fellow-commoners and bachelors of the house, according to their annuary custom, went down the river to a pretty green near Chesterton, accompanied by a band of loud music; and having busied ourselves awhile with honest recreations, we returned to supper.'

In the spring of 1619, Symonds fell a victim to the fennish malaria, being seized with 'a long and sharp tertian ague,' which proved extremely difficult to shake off. If the old proverb be true, his constitution was no royal one. They removed him from Cambridge to the house of an apothecary at Bury, where he spent a fortnight with very little improvement. He was then taken to his father's house at Stow-langtoft. Here he grew worse; chiefly, as he gives us to understand, through lack of needful caution. At length, however, by dint of 'care in venturing abroad, and wariness in diet,' he soon began to regain his strength. He sorely laments the interruption to his studies. He had now begun 'to value knowledge at a high rate,' and had it not been for this hinderance, he 'might have found a fair increase thereof.' The time, however, was not entirely lost, for he read over, much to his satisfaction, an account of 'the exceeding valourous encounters of Scanderbeg with the Turks;' and he wrote letters also to his 'dear friend' Neville, and his 'loving tutor' Holdsworth, at Cambridge. The news from the University which he received in reply was, that the day of the queen's funeral had been celebrated in a very solemn and stately manner; and that sixty houses had been destroyed by fire between Jesus College and Sidney, the latter college narrowly escaping.

CHAPTER IV.

D'EWES'S DILIGENCE IN STUDY, AND HIS STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE DUTIES OF RELIGION.

CHAP.
IV.

THERE being a twelve-month's blank in our friend's Diary, from the spring of 1619, to the spring of 1620, we shall venture to introduce in this place a few general remarks, first upon his course of reading, and afterwards upon his religious character and opinions.

Authors
chiefly in
vogue.

The great University subjects of study were Logic, Ethics, and Physics. The compendious treatises of Keckerman, and Molinaeus, Piccolominiæus and Golius, Polanus, Ramus, and Magirus, most of them foreign Protestant divines, were the books at present in vogue. Classical studies were subordinate, and reserved for the evening. Mr Holdsworth 'read exceeding well at nights upon Virgil's Eclogues.' The only books which Symonds professes to have made his 'own,' or mastered, were Suetonius, Florus, Macrobius, and Aulus Gellius. His knowledge of Greek was 'scarcely worth speaking of:' and inasmuch as he 'knew too well that no perfection could be attained in that tongue without much labour,' he despaired of 'any great success.' All his reading in Greek seems to have been confined to one or two orations of Demosthenes, upon which

Classical
authors
read by
D'Ewes.

Professor Downes had lectured, and ‘a small portion of Aristotle’s *Œconomics* and *Politics*.’ CHAP.
IV.

But Greek scholarship had been for some time at a low ebb in St John’s: it has already been observed, that when Bois came to the college about 1580, so absorbing had been the rage for controversial theology, that the knowledge of Greek was almost entirely lost.

In Theology, we have already stated that he attended the lectures of the Margaret Professor of Divinity. He was present also at all the ‘catechizings’ in the college-chapel; at which, by a royal decree, every member under the degree of Master of Arts was examined in the elements of divinity. He made a point of attending all the sermons at St Mary’s, whether on Sundays or saints’ days; and his sorrow is recorded on having once ‘missed a clerum.’ Theology.

From the ordinary exercises or disputations in the schools he was seldom absent. To Milton it was a grievance, ‘*raucæ murmur adire Scholæ* ;’ but to D’Ewes it was an amusement. With no less punctuality he attended, within his own college, the common-place*, and the problem, which were Latin dissertations read in the chapel by the graduates. He complains of ‘the great sloth of our fellows’ in avoiding these exercises during the time of vacation; and he also com- Public exercises.

* *Quæstio philosophica in communi loco.*

CHAP.
IV.

plains of a certain common-place being passed off afterwards by its composer as a sermon at St Mary's. A certain Mr Woods, also, excited his special indignation by foisting in a composition much inferior to what the audience had a right to expect from him, 'for he was a Bachelor of Divinity.' It was 'so poor as ill to beseem him;' and Symonds found it necessary to 'take two or three turns in the walks' to compose his thoughts, before he went in for his 'morning draught,' and settled down to the studies of the day*.

D'Ewes an
opponent.

Of his own public performances Symonds has not omitted to leave a memorial. It was the custom for the 'Bachelor commencers' to sit in the schools during the whole of Lent,—'except they bought it out,'—and to defend themselves against all opponents. Symonds entered the lists, and 'disputed extempore upon two Sophisters, the one of Trinity, and the other of Christ's.' One of these Respondents 'took' his questions, and in his attack upon the other he was cut short by the coming in of the Proctor: nevertheless he was so satisfied, that he 'scarce knew' himself, and 'thought it long' before he could try his fortune again. The next morning, however, he found himself pitted with an antagonist who

* And yet Mr Woods was capable of better things. He wrote an elegy on the death of King James which shews him to have been neither deficient in scholarship nor in courtiership.

puzzled him 'intolerably,' and 'plucked down'* some of his plumes. He came away crest-fallen, and with a heavy heart joined the party to which he was invited by the Respondent. These conventional merry-meetings had grown into so serious an abuse that they were prohibited soon after this under the name of 'comessationes:' and our hero himself, fearing to be brought into 'the society of some of the looser sort,' resolved to 'forbear going thither any more.' He resolved also not to forget the check which had been given to his self-conceitedness, and in consequence he abstained from looking after 'a Moderatorship,' which previously he had intended to do. For this he was afterwards sorry: and although he knew that he might have 'missed the mark,' even if he had 'gained the Moderatorship,' it became a source of unavailing grief and regret.

CHAP.
IV.

1619

Soon after this he appeared as the Respondent in an Act in the college-chapel, his opponent being 'that prime student' Mr Gervase Neville, already mentioned as one of his 'entire friends.' In consideration that 'the miscarriage in such affairs doth breed vexation in ourselves and contempt in others,' he not only used all diligence in preparing for it, but also prayed to God for 'a happy issue' in this his undertaking. He was apparently aware that there were some

D'Ewes
a re-
spondent.

* Observe the early use of this phrase.

CHAP.
IV.

in the college who would exult in his ill success. At length the day arrived ; and having risen early with a view to punctuality and 'quick dispatch,' when 'the bell sounded' he presented himself in due form in the chapel with his 'friendly adversary.' But the result fell short of his anticipations. The 'hour was up' before his much-studied argument was ended ; and the moderator 'brake it off' abruptly, much to his discontent, before he had said 'one half' of what he had intended to say. The fellows and fellow-commoners then adjourned to 'the parlour,' where 'sack-possets' were prepared for them at the Respondent's expence : and as they all sat comfortably before a good fire, Symonds doubted not that his cheer was more palatable to the company than the previous disputation had been. He seems to have fancied that they made themselves merry at his expence in more senses than one ; and during the whole of the next day he was overwhelmed by 'a deep and dangerous melancholy.'

Declama-
tion.

Among our hero's public performances we must not omit the 'declamation,' which he delivered according to custom in the chapel. A second declamation which he mentions as having delivered in his tutor's chamber, was probably a sort of private exercise.

But besides thus carrying out the intentions of the University in her stated line of studies,

Symonds devoted his leisure hours to the productions of general literature. In the history of his own country, through lack of better works, which lack it was in after life his great ambition to supply, he read the old Chronicles: noting down particularly the impression made upon him by 'the story of the unnatural murder of the two Princes by two varlets in the Tower,' and the 'Journal book of King Edward the Sixth.' In foreign history he read Philip de Comines, and Guicciardini*: the former of whom amused him by shewing how the French kings had interfered in our civil wars. The history of the discoveries of Columbus in the West Indies, by Peter Martyr, afforded him much entertainment; as did also 'a pretty little schedule' entitled 'the history of the Earl of Tyrone.'

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IV.

1619

Historical
reading.

Nor was he deaf to the charms of poetry. He was of opinion that 'some English poets come very near to the best of the ancients;' and having long dipped into Spenser with delight, he resolves to make the Faery Queen a subject of careful study: reading it 'not perfunctorily as heretofore, but as intending to make it mine own.' Cowley met with a copy of the Faery Queen lying in the window of his mother's

D'Ewes,
an admirer
of the
Faery
Queen.

* Guicciardini was a general favourite. The 'mere fellow of a House' is represented by Overbury as so deeply read in Guicciardini as to pass a condemnation upon the policy of Cecil, and laugh to think what a fool he could have made of Solomon, if he had been alive.

CHAP.
IV.

apartment, and he tells us that it made him irrecoverably a poet. But no such effect was produced upon D'Ewes. He possessed indeed some portion of sensibility; but in what is generally called poetical genius, he was, on the whole, lamentably deficient.

Ephemeral
literature
of the day.

Of the lighter productions of literature which fell in his way, he records his special admiration of that early satire of George Wither, entitled, '*Abuses Stripped and Whipped.*' In Lord Wriothsesley's room he met with 'a witty book,' entitled *Hic Mulier*, with its reply, *Hæc Vir*; being a satire upon the prevailing fashion in dress*: and after they had laughed at its conceits, Symonds drew out from his pocket 'some little fragments' of Joshua Sylvester. The piece which afforded them special entertainment bears the following grotesque title:—'*Tobacco battered, and the pipes shattered, about their ears that idolize so barbarous a weed, or at least-wise over-love so loathsome a vanity, by a volley of holy shot from Mount Helicon.*' At Lord Wriothsesley's room also he met with the Diary of 'one Kilby a minister;' a production in some parts so 'ridiculous and sottish,' as to convince him either that 'some envious person' had put it forth in Kilby's name, or that it had originated in 'a distempered humour,' caused by bodily

* Now extremely rare: a copy has been sold for 20 guineas.

disease. It was received with peals of laughter, and Symonds was 'almost scared' by it from proceeding with his own diary.

CHAP.
IV.

1619

A certain 'pretty poem' fell into the hands of Symonds and Lord Wriothesley, 'setting forth' an imaginary dialogue, between the Pope, the Emperor Ferdinand, and the King of Spain; who were represented as confessing to one another, that the forces in Bohemia are increasing too fast for them, and that the reign of Anti-christ must speedily come to an end. As this poem concluded rather abruptly, and as it was very warmly commended by Lord Wriothesley, Symonds conceived the happy idea of adding to it a few stanzas of his own. *Facilius est inventis addere quam invenire*, says the adage, and so he found it to be. It was his 'nature' to be 'wonderfully eager in the pursuit of what he had initiated with affectation,' and thus 'by plying hard' he speedily 'augmented well the initiated poem:' and inexpressible was the delight, when, having laid it before his tutor, he took to himself the praise which that critic had unconsciously bestowed upon the performance of his own pupil.

Satirical
poem on
the state
of affairs in
Bohemia.

Symonds
tries his
hand.

At this early age Symonds had conceived an ambitious longing after the sweets of authorship, and 'many were the wild cogitations' of his 'agile fancy.' 'Essays upon œconomics, politics, and ethics; physiological treatises upon dreams,

Other
works pro-
jected by
him.

CHAP.
IV.

time, and place; dialogues, by way of conference, like unto the French Academy; collectanea, in imitation of Aulus Gellius; translations from Horace into English verse:—all these, one after another, he thought might ‘easily be brought to pass.’ And although he found out at length that he had ‘hewen out’ more than he could finish; yet he ‘doubted not’ that he should ‘leave somewhat to the world worthy of remembrance,’ if it ‘should please God to send’ him life.

Common-
place
books.

Having taken the idea from his friend Jeffray, who admitted him to a sight of the numerous common-place books which he had formed under various titles, such as ‘Serpens et Columba,—Consiliarius,—Symposiacs;’ Symonds procured a suitable book for the purpose, and ‘delivered it to an honest and painful man, to be ruled with red ink, and strongly bound.’ Another volume of very ample dimensions he appropriated to collections in divinity: a certain preacher at St Mary’s having publicly remonstrated with his audience for filling their books with memoranda in other arts and sciences, ‘while the chiefest of them all was neglected.’

D’Ewes
loves to
converse in
Latin.

Both in his letters and in his conversation he endeavoured to keep up the ‘scholar-like’ use of the Latin tongue, in all cases where it was practicable. In his daily walks into the fields, nothing pleased him so much as the chat of some well-

informed fellow of the college, who would join him in quoting 'sweet extemporaries' from Gellius or Macrobius, or 'in guessing at the lepid derivation' of English words. To those who were of his own standing, it is to be feared that his conceit and pedantry proved in many cases offensive. The following anecdote is given in detail, and we will bring him forward to tell it in his own words.—'After supper as I was going to bed, I met with a gentleman of our house of mine own rank, and so we went and walked together in our outer court. Here, falling into philosophical discourse, we almost fell out. I tied myself to Latin, which stirred him up to choler, until at last he began likewise. He being newly entered upon a paronomasia of words, I intercepted him, and said,—*sed hæc quidem penitus sunt leviuscula, et gravi viro minimè digna.*—*Qualis tu es* :—said he.—*Qualis tu esses* :—I replied.—*Qualis te esse putabam* :—he continued. Which false Latin I presently apprehended; and taking occasion thereupon to break off our discourse, I repeated over to him the former words. I then told him in Latin it was now high time to leave off, and so I wished him a happy night.'—There is no secret made by Symonds of his great desire to acquire the reputation of scholarship, and he so far succeeded as to gain the credit of being 'ever

His pe-
dantry
gives
offence.

CHAP.
IV.

D'Ewes's
model in
writing a
Diary.

accounted,' as he ingenuously confesses, 'more knowing' than he was 'in reality.'

His Diary, to which we are indebted for whatever insight we have obtained into D'Ewes's early character, and into the manners of his age, was undertaken in imitation more particularly of 'that young godly Prince,' Edward the Sixth, and John Lord Harrington of Exton. The journal of Edward the Sixth was at that time in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton, subsequently one of Symonds's friends and fellow-antiquaries; and it is now in the British Museum. Lord Harrington was the son of the preceptor of Anne of Bohemia; a youth of distinguished piety, who died prematurely in 1613.

The religious and
moral character of
the University.

The general character of the University in a religious and moral point of view, after all due allowance is made for the party prejudice which gave a bitterness to Symonds's language when speaking of those opposed to him, appears to have been far from satisfactory. Party spirit was strong, and its evil fruits were abundant in proportion. The one party set down the other as hypocrites, and they were set down themselves as 'Atheists' in return. A religious life was often stigmatized as Puritanism, and there were some who became open profligates in order to escape the imputation. The vices of those who opposed Puritanism were exaggerated, and

charges against them were circulated without due inquiry into their truth. Still these charges were not all without foundation. George Herbert fully agrees with the Puritan divines in denouncing 'the growing Atheism' of the age; and he imputes neglect to the clergy in not raising up their voices against it more resolutely. Even in the pulpit of St Mary's the University was styled, — *mater artium, noverca virtutum*. Against the prevailing immoralities of the place Symonds raised his voice without fear, and he gave all needful caution to students younger than himself, whenever an opportunity presented itself: for which he met with the usual reward of being 'backbited and much vilipended.' His opinion of his elders was on the whole a favourable one; and although one of the fellows attempted very maliciously to undermine that good opinion, by intimating a fear that 'many members of the Society who had the shew of honest men, were nevertheless knaves,' Symonds indignantly refused to believe 'that a conversation so apparently good could be essentially evil.'

In his outward life and conversation Symonds himself was extremely strict, and we have every reason to believe that this strictness sprang from a principle of sincere piety. The training of his 'most loving and religious mother' had produced the effect promised by Solomon. Although he had not yet 'dived into their causes and effects,'

D'Ewes's
sincere
piety.

CHAP.
IV.

he doubted not that 'the seeds of faith were sown' within him ; and he felt himself 'to increase daily in the practice of a godly life.'

His religious observances.

The Book of Sports.

D'Ewes's occupation on Sunday evening.

He was very careful in his 'observance of the Sabbath.' Having 'thoroughly incorporated' into his mind the promise of a blessing given by the prophet Isaiah to all who abstain from doing their own pleasure on that day, he always endeavoured to 'sort and arrange' his affairs beforehand, 'to its better sanctification.' The present was the era of King James's Book of Sports, and 'foppish' recreations were followed on this day even upon the college bowling-green. But never, excepting once, did Symonds join them ; and then, although he had only been following the example of certain 'religious gentlemen,' he humbled himself in penitence for it afterwards. Besides attending the services in the chapel, he was never absent from the sermon at St Mary's in the morning, nor from his friend Jeffray's lecture in the afternoon. The prayers he 'devoutly joined in : ' the lessons he 'marked well : ' the sermons he 'carefully noted down.' The evening was spent in reviewing his notes of sermons, and in writing extracts from Jewel's Apology, or other works of a like character. He drew up for his sisters a set of religious meditations, endeavouring thereby in some measure to fulfil the promise which he had made to his mother on her death-bed. His reading of the Scriptures was regular

and diligent. He was a constant communicant at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and he never partook of 'that blessed and sacred banquet,' without long and serious examination; making use of the appropriate portions of the 'Practice of Piety.' He lived, in short, in the faith and fear of God. Not a day did he pass without devout meditation and prayer. In his Diary he has recorded more than once the solemn reflections that arose in his mind, 'on hearing the passing bell go, for some that were paying their last debt to nature,' after he had shut himself up in his chamber for the evening.

Incidental mention is made of alms-giving, and visiting the sick. There is certainly no disposition to underrate good works, as the fruit and evidence of faith. One or two sermons which he heard on the duty of alms-giving he mentions as 'admirable.' His friend Jeffray urged the example of the Wise Men, who poured out their most precious gifts before Christ; and another preacher whom he heard at Benet Church, 'fully answered all objections out of St Chrysostom,' and shewed that 'the poor serve as carriers to transport the treasures of pious rich men to heaven, where they will find them when they arrive there themselves.' Symonds was satisfied that 'if the most griping Nigidius had been present, it would have melted him to a sudden liberality.'

CHAP.
IV.

Theological discussion with his friend Jeffray.
On Baptism.

Of his frequent colloquies with Jeffray upon questions of theology, we find one or two 'noted down,' and among the rest is the *vexata quæstio* of baptism. Jeffray reprehended 'two sorts, as well those who attribute too much, as those who attribute too little.' If infants die, having been baptized, he conceived it to be 'against the rules, both of verity and charity, not to believe them to be in a state of salvation.' By baptism they are become children of God, without 'reference to his election or reprobation,' just 'as Ishmael, by his circumcision, which was a type of baptism, became an adopted child of God.' It is not impossible but that God may 'inspire children with a saving faith,' even at the very instant of their departure; 'as he inspired the thief upon the cross with good ejaculations.' If he chooses, indeed, he may 'accept the child of a Turk or a Pagan.' And yet 'sure it is, that believing parents make much for a child's blessedness. By baptism 'the force of original sin is quelled,' and actual sin they have not yet committed.' Not that baptism is the 'sole and efficient cause of salvation,' 'as the Papists do damnably teach;' but God himself, the giver of all goodness: and 'baptism is but the means.' By the sacrament of baptism 'God is the Father of us all.' We are 'born of water and of the Spirit;' and God hath saved us, according to his mercy, 'by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy

Ghost ;' as it is in John iii. 5; Titus iii. 5. 'Nevertheless it is surely a greater blessing when God gives length of days, and assurance by the power of faith and the constant practice of a sanctified conversation. While, on the other hand, for those that fall away into apostacy, as Ishmael did*, it would have been happy if they had died in their infancy, or even perished in the womb.'

Other questions, proposed by Symonds and discussed by Mr Jeffray, were,—What was the situation, substance, and first appearing of the star to the Magi? What truth there may be in Bonaventure's opinion, that it appeared 'in the form of a goodly young child, with a crown of gold upon his head?' Whether it went before the Magi all the way; or whether having seen it once in Persia, they saw it not again until they arrived near Bethlehem? Also, whether Mary was espoused to Joseph with the full intention of marrying him; or whether, as the Papists hold, she was not? Also, why, if Herod did not order the massacre of the infants until two years from the departure of the Magi, it should have been needful for Joseph to flee into Egypt immediately, and so hastily as to leave Bethlehem in the night? Also, where the soul of our blessed Saviour went while his body was in the grave?

* Pareus is here referred to, in his note upon the passage.

CHAP.
IV.

Question
as to the
descent
into hell.

In the discussion of the last question, Jeffray continued his remarks to some length. Without adopting implicitly the Genevan or figurative interpretation of the descent into hell; and at the same time steering clear of the Romish notion, that by enduring an additional degree of torture, our Saviour redeemed the souls of the fathers, 'which lay in limbo,' which would be at variance with his own exclamation, '*finitum est*;' Jeffray maintained that he descended into hell, in order that he 'might triumph and shew his victory there.' After he had risen, his soul was again united to his body, and thus he ascended into heaven, where there are now the three bodies of Christ, Enoch, and Elias; though these bodies are somewhat changed from what they were upon earth. Symonds asked where the soul of Lazarus was, while his body lay in the grave. Jeffray replied, '*in cælo empyræo*,' whither the soul of St Paul was caught up to hear unspeakable words, after which it returned again into the body.

The glories
of heaven.

From this they 'fell to talking' about the unspeakable joys of heaven. They agreed that in heaven will be a mutual knowledge of one another; 'else, David could not have derived any comfort from his reflection that he should himself go to the child, though the child could not return to him.' And they also agreed, that 'they will hold conference with one another in the Hebrew

tongue, which all, whether learned or unlearned, will be able to understand.' This mutual recognition, they agreed, will be to the glorified 'a great comfort,' as Keckerman has remarked. And lastly they concluded, that although there will be 'divers degrees of glory,' yet will no one envy those above him, but that 'all will be fully contented.'

'In this discourse,' says Symonds, 'I was almost rapt up with joy. And when the time enforced our breaking off the conference, there followed a long and deep silence, caused through admiration. At length I took my *vale* of him, with many thanks, and posted homewards.'

It does not surprise us to find that this grave-minded youth, with so many tokens of sincere piety, and such a love for theological research, was recommended by his friend Jeffray to choose the function of the ministry. Why this suggestion should have been at once rejected and never again adverted to; whether it was repugnant to the wishes of the son, or to those of the father, or to both, we have no means of determining. In the eyes of the avaricious father it is probable that the profession of the ministry would not be sufficiently lucrative; and perhaps in the eyes of the son, who with all his Puritan bias, was a worshipper of rank and distinction, it might not be sufficiently aristocratic. But no intimation to that effect is found in this Diary.

D'Ewes
recom-
mended to
enter into
holy orders.

CHAPTER V.

INCIDENTS MENTIONED IN THE DIARY FROM MARCH 1,
1620, TO THE GREAT COMMENCEMENT IN THAT
YEAR.

CHAP. V.

1620.

Shrove
Tuesday
in the
North.

ON Shrove Tuesday, in the year 1620, Symonds sat at supper near his tutor Holdsworth, who entertained him with a description of the manner in which that day was observed in the North. He called it, 'the London prentices' madness, the country thieves' mildness, and all Englands' feast-day.' He said that the poorest family would spend their last shilling, 'rather than lack a suitable entertainment;' and that they would 'rise from their beds' to finish the unconsumed viands, rather than let them remain until the morning of Ash Wednesday. These customs indeed prevailed to a much more recent period, and are probably not yet extinct. Fifty years ago, in the town of Newcastle, of which town Holdsworth was a native, a sort of carnival prevailed after the tolling of the great bell of St Nicholas at twelve o'clock, throughout the remainder of the day. At York the ringing of this bell was claimed by the 'prentices' as their exclusive privilege; and in 1670, a riot occurred, in which one of the prebendaries*, who attempted to interfere with them, nearly lost his life.

* John Lake, afterwards one of the seven bishops committed to the Tower.

It appears that on Fridays, during the season of Lent, the dinner at St John's consisted solely of fish: and it appears, also, that 'the fishy dinner was mended by a fleshy supper.' In the other colleges, too, the same custom prevailed.

CHAP. V.

1620

Fish dinners on Fridays in Lent.

Of the proceedings at 'the first act,' in the *Minora Comitia* or Bachelors' Commencement in the year 1620, Symonds gives the following concise summary. 'The Proctors oratorized: the tripos jested: the Bachelors replied: and four Masters of Arts disputed.'

First Act in the Bachelors' Commencement.

At this period the University, like every other great establishment, had its privileged jester. As the Fool in a nobleman's household, and as Archie Armstrong at court, so were the Tripos and the Prævaricator at the two *Comitia*. Under the pretence of maintaining some Philosophical question, they poured out a medley of absurd jokes and personal ridicule. By the statutes they were directed to confine themselves to the exercise of refined and classical wit, and all vulgar jesting was prohibited: but in process of time the statutes were constantly set at defiance. In 1626 the Heads issued a decree, in which, after referring to those golden days of old, when—*Prævaricatores quâ poterant contradicendi subtilitate veritatem philosophicam eluserunt, et Tripodes sua quæsitâ ingeniosè et apposite defenderunt*,—they ordered that every future Prævaricator or Tripos who should transgress

Tripos and Prævaricator.

CHAP. V. the rules of decorum by ridiculing any person,
 1660 or office, or ordinance whatever, should be degraded or imprisoned; and if the case should seem to deserve a severer punishment, that he should be expelled.

The Prævaricator's speech in the year of the Restoration.

His address to the undergraduates.

To the Proctors.

Satirical jokes upon the former speakers.

These stringent regulations may have checked the licence for a season; but in the year of the Restoration, when the whole University was too outrageous in its mirth to think of any rigid enforcement of the statute, it appears from a copy of his speech still in existence, that the Prævaricator's gibes were launched forth at all present, without mercy and without distinction. The undergraduates, in their places aloft, are compared to chickens thrusting their heads out of a coop, and their incessant chatter is contrasted with the sleepy silence of the Doctors below. He calls out to them, that if they will let down an old shoe, as the debtors in prison let down their pouches through the grating, he will have pity upon them, and send up a few jokes. He tells the Proctors that one of them is an ox and the other an ass; proving it by a syllogism. The one may defend the University with his horns, and the other with his heels. The one may furnish beef for the rural clergy who are come up to the festivities; and for any of them who are sick, the other may supply milk. A certain member of St John's is congratulated on his having demolished the arguments of Popery in

his public exercise, so that—*Suis et ipsa Roma* CHAP. V.
viribus ruit. Another speaker is accused of 1660

having lugged in Priscian *per auribus*, and broken his head. Another is told that his face is like a

sun-dial, standing upon a post; and that his nose can never be put into a verse, inasmuch as it is more than six feet in length. The Phy-

sicians are asked whether it is true that Homer

died of the *Iliaca passio*. The Inceptors who had taken their bachelor's degree before the troubles began, and have now ridden up, well-

booted, to be made Masters, are compared to the well booted Grecians in the Trojan War: and

he taunts them with being old enough to remember it. The Doctors are asleep, and in their

sleep they dream: yet little do they dream of being ejected. Alexander slept with Homer

under his pillow: the doctors do not sleep with Homer either under their pillow, or in their

head. Their politics are worse than their prosody, and their prosody is execrable: for six

years ago they wrote laudatory verses upon Oliver, and called them *Oliva Pacis*; while a cer-

tain fellow of Trinity saluted him as king*. Now that they laud King Charles, may we not

suspect that, *facit indignatio versum*, as the poet says? Their favourite word is *quandoque*: *quandoque* they are for the King; *quandoque* for the

* The author of the Greek lines in the *Oliva Pacis* here alluded to, shelters himself under the initials, I. V.

CHAP. V. Parliament; *quandoque* for the Protector; *quandoque* for the King again. 'As to that speaker who yesterday introduced so many *salve's* into his speech, and at the same time was rather hard upon the Brewer of Huntingdon, let me ask, *Quis expedit psittaco suum salve?* May I not fairly suspect that the beer in which he has been drinking the King's health is rather stronger beer than Oliver's?'

Salutations
for the Ox-
ford men.

To follow the Prævaricator in all his sallies would be scarcely decorous, even if there were wit enough to repay us for the trouble. His wit at times is too like the worse kind of the wit of Aristophanes, and his audience were unquestionably Athenian in some of their tastes. To raise a laugh at the expence of some one among his auditors was the sole object; and he was not restrained by any feeling of delicacy, either as to the object or the means employed. Of course the Oxford men who were present came in for their share. No wonder, he says, that calves' heads are plentiful in Cambridge, when there has just been such an importation from Oxford. They come up, like thrifty housewives to a fair, in order to lay in a stock of new jokes, their own having waxed as old and as bald as the figure of Time beside the clock.—Such was the public greeting given by one learned Sister to the other at this solemn festival.

At length he proceeds to one of his 'ques-

tiones ;' undertaking to prove that *omnis motus est circularis*. CHAP. V.

1660

The Præ-
varicator
proves that
*omnis motus
est circularis*.

In the first place it holds good in the Government. The sceptre, like the mariner's needle, having gone round the compass, settles again at the North; pointing to Charles's wain, and signifying that Charles may again take possession of his wain. It holds good also in the circulation of the blood, both in the body natural and in the body politic. The blood of King Charles was shed twelve years ago, and now comes round the time for shedding the blood of those who condemned him. Again, it holds in the succession of Masters and fellows of colleges; those who were formerly ejected for refusing the engagement, being now restored, and those who were made Masters and fellows in their place being now ejected. Thus if any one calls out to the men of Pembroke, *cujum pecus?* they answer, *Lanii**. The *fluctus decumanus*, after ten years, bears them into their places again, while it sweeps away the present possessors with all their spoil. In this tenth year, some of the rural clergy must hand over their tithes to others. The circular motion holds good also in regard to a certain clerical member of St John's, who having gone away with a desire to be elected a member of Parliament for the county of Lancaster, comes

* Their formerly ejected Master, Dr Laney, being now restored.

CHAP. V. back to Cambridge disappointed, and now desires to resume his duties as a clergyman.

‘ Si fortuna volet, fies de Rhetore Consul,
Si volet hæc eadem, fies de Consule Rhetor.’

With the beadles, again, *omnis motus est circularis*. Take a circular dish, charged with savoury viands, and place it before a beadle, and you will straightway see his fork make a tangent thereto, and his knife a secant. And with the Oxford men their wit moves also in a circle; inasmuch as in nothing it begins, and in nothing ends.

‘ Sic redit in nihilum quod fuit ante nihil.’

The Prævaricator deprecates the ire of his auditors.

Passing over the Prævaricator's second *quæstio*, we proceed to the deprecation of the ire of those whom he has attacked, which he enters upon with much ironical solemnity. ‘ Ye scarlet doctors, he says, ‘ the redness of your western sky I take as an omen of fair weather. Ye men of physic, be angry with me if you choose; for when the doctor is angry it is a sign that the patient is mending. Ye Oxford men, for your wit I care not, but your anger I would escape if I can. Thou proctor with the dark visage, thy gloomy complexion can never be mellowed by the flush of anger, therefore I fear thee not: but I fear thy merry-eyed colleague, lest while he smiles he should stab me. Ye beadles of the capacious stomach, I fear lest you should not stomach my raillery. I beg the Vice-chancellor to pardon

my jokes, in consideration of the fact that some of his own proceedings have afforded jokes to the university. Only observe how sternly he eyes me at this moment; and all the while in his heart he knows that he loves me. Is he not then a dissembler,—a prævaricator? And has not his brother prævaricator then a right to claim from him some indulgence?’

Such was the audacity of the prævaricator in 1660. In 1667 he was threatened with expulsion, if he should admit anything into his speech which had not been previously submitted to the Vice-chancellor for approval. In 1680, in consequence of a report that he had thrown ridicule upon Oates’s plot, the University was visited with a sharp reprimand, and threatened with the interference of Parliament. This blow he never recovered; and although in Dr Long’s speech, in 1714, he is represented as having exerted his jocularities with most marvellous effect, he soon after became defunct. A few chastened and refined traces of his spirit may sometimes be found in those annual verses which still bear the name of *Tripes*, and in one or two unaccredited effusions which had been circulated under that name we are reminded of his pristine audacity. His *joci scurriles* have occasionally been heard from the upper regions of the Senate-House.

The decline
and fall of
the Præ-
varicator.

About this time much interest was excited

CHAP. V. in the University by news from London, that

1620

News arrives of the King's going in state to St Paul's.

Speculations as to the cause of it.

'the King with all the peers' had gone in state to St Paul's, 'the streets being railed off' for the convenience of the procession; and that the Bishop of London, Dr King, had preached before them 'a learned and excellent sermon,' at Paul's Cross. As to the object of this unwonted proceeding,—for there had never been such a sight in London since the time of the Spanish Armada,—every one was in the dark. Some said it was '*only* about the repairing of the Church,' which had lost its steeple by fire about twenty years before: while others, thinking the alleged cause insufficient for the effect, endeavoured to persuade themselves that it was a public thanksgiving for the Prince Palatine's election to the crown of Bohemia. The repairing of the cathedral, however, was after all the object in view. When the bishop's sermon was over, King James retired with him into his palace, where they consulted together upon the best method of raising money: but the King himself had nothing to give, and the courtiers followed the King's example, and the citizens were rather languid in their support of cathedrals about this time; so that this imposing commencement had a ridiculous termination. A commission was issued, and there the matter ended. The work was not set about in earnest until King Charles took it up, about fourteen years afterwards; and

then it was that Bishop Corbet, in addressing the clergy of his diocese, told them, that although the Apostle himself did not like the *stoning* he got at Lystra, *a good stoning* was nevertheless the very thing his church in London stood most in need of. CHAP. V.
1620

About this time it happened, on a Sunday morning, as Symonds was leaving the Hall after dinner, that he espied near the door ‘a poor fellow of tall personage, lusty limbs, and swart complexion,’ who appeared to be ‘needful,’ and yet ashamed to beg. He was ‘passing the man by, without taking any notice of him,’ as the rest had done before, when a loaf was put into his hand by some one, for which ‘he blessed God first, and then the bestower.’ On hearing ‘this good ejaculation, which certainly argued no base bringing up,’ Symonds stayed his ‘hasty’ steps, and gave the man a small sum of money. ‘Having thus out of a little given a little,’ he also thought good, according to ‘the straitness’ of his time, to ask him a few questions. It appeared from his reply to these questions, that ‘although now decayed, he had once been a mariner of good account,’ but that ‘coming from the Straits, in a ship of fifty tons, they were surprised and assaulted by fifteen sail of pirates, in a place such that if they could have passed but a bow-shot, they would have been safe.’ These pirates ‘took for their prey the ship with its goods,’

Symonds
meets with
a mariner
who had
been plun-
dered by
pirates.

CHAP. V. which alone amounted to more than two thousand one hundred pounds, together with the master, the master's mate, and the chief of the company; and then 'they committed the rest, whereof this poor man was one, to the merciless seas' in an open boat. 'Yea, and even this mercy, as they termed it, was showed to them, only because they had yielded without resistance; for of four sail of Bristowe, which they had taken a short time before, not one man was permitted to escape, because they had made great resistance. Through God's mercy this man and his comrades, one and twenty in number, were carried safe to a haven in Spain, and from thence brought in a merchant-ship to England, where they landed at Dunstable (Barnstaple,) in Devonshire. The pirate's name was Sir Francis Verneham (Verney), who was turned Turk, and had joined himself to two other Englishmen, cursed recreants like himself; having in all fifty ships, or more, and increasing daily.'—The story of the swarthy mariner is borne out by contemporary history. The pirate of this period was a genuine sea-robber, and his name struck terror even into the hearts of landmen; for he would sometimes disembark on the southern and western coasts of England, plunder the villages, and carry the inhabitants into slavery. Among these lawless freebooters our own countrymen had acquired an infamous pre-eminence;

so that it was said, *nulli melius piraticam exercent* CHAP. V.
quam Angli. Of this class was Sir Francis 1620
 Verney, who turned Turk, and lived at Tunis. Sir Francis
 The interest which Symonds took in this mariner Verney and
 was increased by the fact of his being well other Eng-
 acquainted with the haven-town of Lyme, of lishmen
 which old Mr Symonds, our hero's grandfather, turned
 had been the Recorder, and near which he had pirates.
 spent his early days. 'He not only decyphered
 the place, but also named sundry persons whom
 I could well remember.'

During the present spring Symonds had frequent interruptions of his studies from illness; slight indeed in themselves, but recorded with all circumstance in his Diary. The one was occasioned by the extraction of a broken tooth, A rare
 which an unskilful barber, after putting him to French
 much torture, had left almost entire in his mouth. dentist.
 It was taken out by 'a rare Frenchman,' who gave notice to the University that he was competent 'to draw, ease, settle, preserve, and whiten, —yea, if need should require, to put in new ones.' This Frenchman, having been called in to whiten the teeth, 'eftsoons' persuaded Symonds to have the broken one extracted: but the pain was 'terrible in conceiving,' and the swollen face that ensued prevented him from pursuing his studies for several days afterwards. The other interruption was caused by a severe pain in the head, which made him apprehensive of the small pox.

CHAP. V. But he called in his old friend Dr Allott, and
 1620 'sent away all company,' and bolted his door,
 and kindled a fire, and took medicine ;—and bade
 defiance to the enemy.

A Scot
 elected
 fellow of
 the college
 by Royal
 mandate.

A short time before the election of fellows in the present year, one of the seniors died, by name Monsey ; and Symonds having heard that an unusual number of fellowships 'would this year be void,' observes, with the satisfied air of one who needs not to care about such things, that 'many of our youngsters' will doubtless be gaping after 'these preferments.' The number was six, and one of these was filled up by royal mandate, the person recommended being 'a Scot.'

The King's
 accession.

On March 24, the anniversary of James's Accession, a sermon was preached at St Mary's by the Vice-Chancellor,—the bells were rung,—a speech delivered in the Hall,—and bonfires kindled in the town at night.

The game
 of foot-ball.

In the evening of March 29, Symonds went out after supper to 'a spacious field at the back of Queens' college, called Sheep's green,' having heard that there was to be 'some hot foot-ball playing.' Hurtful and unscholar-like though this game had been pronounced by the authorities, it was nevertheless still in vogue ; and we find it recorded that a few years after this, an active and energetic youth, who subsequently played a no less energetic part in the game of life, broke

the collar bone of one of his competitors in a game at football*. It was restricted, however, to certain 'greens' belonging to the several colleges. Trinity green was near the site of the present Neville's court. It appears that in D'Ewes's time the foot-ball players were divided into two 'factions,' the one headed by St John's, and the other by Trinity†; and that when he arrived at the field, he found his own faction in possession of it, their adversaries not venturing to show themselves. He got engaged in the game, however, and returned to his chamber with a broken shin. A few days after this he went to another meeting in the same place, and again, 'the Trinitician faction' showed the white feather. Upon this the Johnians grew insolent; and 'as they returned to their college, some of the lustiest of them, who had been bickering with Sir John Barleycorn, in order to show their anger on being thus continually deluded, set upon the back gates of Trinity, and brake them open, and with long poles drove into the college all they found in the walks, offering some violence even to a Master of Arts.'

CHAP. V.

1620

The Triniticians
avoid the
contest.

The Johnians
grow
riotous.

* John Barwick, a fellow of St John's and a distinguished royalist, who held in succession the Deaneries of Durham and St Paul's. In the civil wars he laid aside the garb and occupation of the clergyman, and took up the sword.

† Overbury's 'mere scholar' makes the excellency of his college, though but for a match at foot-ball, an article of his faith.

CHAP. V.

1620

Punish-
ment of the
rioters.

‘But sweet meat hath sour sauce. A long time will not obliterate the fruits of a little rashness.’ Betimes the next morning came some Masters of Arts of Trinity to complain to Dr Gwynne of these over-valiant champions: and after a serious examination, ‘all who were present were declared to be guilty of the outrage.’ And although the punishment was at length brought down to a small pecuniary mulct, Symonds felt the disgrace, and acknowledged the justice of the sentence, though in the actual offence he ‘did nothing.’ But ‘*qui tangit picem, inquinabitur*,’—saith Solomon: and ‘the Chronicles tell of a miller’s man in some Northern insurrection, who was hung in the place of his master.’ Therefore Symonds determined to avoid the ‘prejudicious effects’ of evil company for the time to come.

D’Ewes’s
favourite
amuse-
ments.

The principal ‘sports or recreations,’ in which Symonds indulged within doors were tennis, shovel-groat, and cards. In former days the shovel-board was as fashionable an adjunct to great houses as the billiard-table is in modern times: and although forbidden in the University by some of the early statutes, it seems to have been used now with impunity. ‘When the season was fitting,’ his favourite places of resort for outdoor amusement were the bowling-green and the river. ‘As soon as spring began to put on her divers-coloured mantle,’ he betook himself with

his companions to the bowling-green, where they played not only at bowls, but 'at such sports as jumping, running, and pitching the bar.'

CHAP. V.

1620

Angling was a favourite amusement with him both here and in Suffolk: and he delights to bring forward Whitaker and Senhouse, both popular names in the college, as patrons of the art. We find him on several occasions 'going down with others in a boat to Chesterton.' He also mentions a green about a mile from Cambridge called Howse*, an 'ordinary place of recreation for all sorts,' where he played lovingly with his friends at bowls, and afterwards refreshed himself with 'such things as the cottage that standeth there could afford.' But he wishes it to be understood, that all these recreations were merely used 'as antidotes to disastrous diseases,' and never allowed to interfere with his studies.

The great subjects of public interest at this time, especially with all good Protestants, were the projected match of Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain, and the progress of the war in Bohemia, where matters were speedily drawing to a crisis. Frederic the Count Palatine was now awaiting within his palace at Prague the bursting of that storm which swept away not only the crown to which the Protestant princes had lately elected him, but also his hereditary

Public
affairs.

* Still to be found, with the name unaltered, on the Huntingdon road.

CHAP. V. dominions in the Palatinate. It was regarded
1620 in England as a struggle between Christ and Anti-christ; and James's backwardness to recognize the validity of his son-in-law's kingly title was considered to indicate a preponderance of Popish counsels at Court. There were many persons living whose grandfathers had witnessed the horrors of Smithfield; many who themselves remembered the butcheries of St Bartholomew's-day; and the Gunpowder Plot was fresh in the recollection of many more. Against 'the Pope and his pope-lings' all the middle classes were now in a state of ungovernable excitement. Even the pulpits resounded with provocatives to war. After reading a printed sermon of this stamp, entitled *Christiana polemica*, by one Gibson, afterwards Preacher at the Temple, our friend Symonds laments that in his own peaceful vocation he can do nothing more than follow the advice given by a certain friar to Martin Luther:—'to your cell, brother Luther, to your cell, and there pray.' He carefully notes down in his Diary the several movements of the belligerent powers, as they come to his knowledge. The raising of troops in England under the Earls of Essex and Oxford, to assist in frustrating Spinola's designs upon the Palatinate, was a measure highly approved of by him; and he rejoices to hear that money, 'the sinews of war,' is 'gathering apace.'

By these stirring events the match with Spain CHAP. V.
 was in some measure kept for a time in abey- 1620
 ance. Allusion however is made to 'a sculpture'
 of the Infanta met with by Symonds at Cam-
 bridge, probably a caricature, in which she was
 represented with a countenance 'so ill-favoured,'
 as to be likely in Symonds's opinion 'to bring to
 the Prince himself manifold inconvenience' there-
 by. This, however, is a trifle: 'the great and
 general disaster to be dreaded is the alteration
 of religion.'

After an interval of a month from the first The latter
 Act belonging to the Bachelor's Commencement Act in the
 came 'the latter Act.' The Tripos on this Bachelors'
 occasion was a friend of Symonds, 'one Sir Commence-
 Barret' of St John's, the author of the Latin ment.
 Comedy, which had been acted in the Hall at
 the preceding Christmas: and we are informed
 that 'both in his position, and in his extempore
 answering, he made a great deal of sport, and
 got much credit.' The senior Brother, also, was
 one of Symonds's friends, a fellow-commoner
 of Jesus, by name Saltonstall; and the junior
 Brother was 'Sir Tutsham' of Trinity, a very
 good scholar*. The whole was concluded by
 a disputation between one of the Proctors,

* 'Sir Tutsham' was the author of an Ode upon the
 birth of the Princess Mary, in which the fourth day of
 November is said to exceed in sanctity both All Saints' and
 All Souls' day, the first and the second; inasmuch as on the
 fourth this royal infant had condescended to come into the
 world.

CHAP. V. termed 'the Father,' and two Masters of Arts of
 1620 St John's.

It is mentioned incidentally that the University sermon on Trinity Sunday was delivered in Trinity College Chapel.

In the month of May, Symonds paid a visit to his family at Stow-langtoft, of which we find little more recorded than that, at Bury school, where he interceded with his 'loving and learned friend' Mr Dickenson, for 'a general recreation,' and bestowed upon certain of the boys, whom he took into the town, 'the common courtesy,' he was invited to be present at the delivery of an oration to their Visitor the Bishop of Norwich, who was expected to arrive in the town that same afternoon. Symonds, being already on his way to Cambridge, was obliged reluctantly to decline the invitation; and he heard afterwards that the Bishop, 'being over-wearied with travail,' declined also the hearing of the school-boys' oratory. Symonds met on the road with one or two 'ill-countenanced knaves,' whose honesty he doubted; but he nevertheless arrived at St John's in safety 'before night had set in.'

Bishop
Harsnett's
indif-
ference
to acade-
mical
oratory.

King
James
sends the
volume of
his works
to Cam-
bridge.

On the twentieth of May, we are informed that there is much talk occasioned by the arrival of a volume of 'all his Majesty's works, translated into Latin by one Reed, a Scotchman, and a most excellent Latinist*, sent from himself, with

* Bishop Montague is said to have translated King James's works into Latin.

a letter much extolling this academy.' Our CHAP. V.
 sagacious undergraduate seems to have suspected 1620
 that there was a species of diplomacy in this act
 of the King: inasmuch as 'besides their general
 intentions which all men may guess at, princes
 have in all their actions private designs known
 only to themselves.' One point was considered
 clear, namely, that by sending his book first to
 Cambridge, the King had intimated his pre-
 ference of Cambridge to Oxford. The volume
 itself, bound in velvet and gold, embellished by
 the royal arms, and identified with the royal
 autograph, was deposited, of course, in the Uni-
 versity Library; and directions were given to
 George Herbert, the Public Orator, to prepare a
 letter of thanks. This was the first 'notable'
 duty, as Isaac Walton terms it, which he was
 called upon to perform, and he performed it
 entirely to the King's satisfaction. The King
 had no objection to be told in a neat epigram
 that neither Rome in her Vatican, nor Oxford in The Public
 her Bodleian, can boast of such a library as Orator's
 Cambridge possesses in that single book. Well compliments
thereupon.
 might the royal pedant turn and say complacently
 to the Earl of Pembroke, that this young kins-
 man of his was 'the jewel of the University.'

In the spring of the present year there was
 'a long-continued drought,' insomuch that 'many
 poor tenants, whose purses had already been
 brought low by the cheapness of corn, were well

CHAP. V. nigh beggared.' So dry was the season, that
 1620 even the hay in the college walks of St John's,
 Extra-ordinary success in haymaking at St John's. which 'for seventeen years back had never been
 got in without some rain falling upon it,' — as
 Symonds was informed by the President, Mr
 Senhouse,—escaped this year 'without a single
 drop.' It was a narrow escape, however; for
 'betimes the next morning it began to lour, and
 all the fore-noon it drizzled, and in the afternoon
 it poured down amain, with a very great light-
 ning and thunder.' And as Symonds, looking
 out from the window of his chamber, thought
 first upon the mischief done by the drought,
 and then upon the mischief done by the rain,
 for in many places the hay was 'still lying out
 in the field,' he recognized a confirmation of
 the saying of Theognis, that it lies beyond the
 power even of Jupiter himself to please every
 body.

An eclipse
 of the
 Moon.

On the fourth of June Symonds ascended
 one of the turrets of Trinity College, in company
 with 'an excellent mathematician of our house,'
 —probably the same Ollerenshaw mentioned in
 the case of the comet,—to see an eclipse of the
 moon. The night, however, was so cloudy, that
 nothing could be 'effected;' and the weather
 was so cold, that at two o'clock in the morning
 they thought it best to come down and go to
 bed. Finding the gates of the college closed,
 Symonds 'was constrained to entertain the offer'

of a lodging within the walls of Trinity, and here he spent the night. CHAP. V.
1620

About this time it is recorded that Symonds had 'no sooner gotten up' one morning than he was informed by 'my woman coming to make my bed and dress my chamber,' that a scholar of Queens' College was drowned 'yesternight' in a place 'called *Clarke's delight*, not far distant from that college.' Soon after this he hears that a hardy 'freshman of our house, who is boarding for a while in the town,' having risen early, and gone out to perform his usual ablutions at a neighbouring well, had 'tumbled in headlong after the bucket, and well nigh lost his life.' Other current pieces of gossip are, that 'two varlets who have robbed many houses' in the neighbourhood, have been apprehended;—that 'two idlers' being out on the Sunday, one of them, 'in trying his piece,' had 'by chance' killed the other;—and that 'a stout lad' of his own year, 'being possessed with the phanatic error,' had been seized with some 'strange and disastrous fits.'

CHAPTER VI.

INCIDENTS MENTIONED IN THE DIARY FROM THE GREAT COMMENCEMENT, 1620, TO D'EWES'S DEPARTURE FROM THE UNIVERSITY IN THE FOLLOWING SEPTEMBER.

CHAP.
VI.

1620
The Great
Com-
mence-
ment ap-
proaches.

A Music
Act.

NOW approached the *Majora Comitia*, or Great Commencement; and the Divinity exercises in the schools came so thick and frequent, that twice in the same day had Symonds the gratification of attending a Clerum. The exercise of a 'Dr Mumford,' or Montfort, is mentioned in particular. This gentleman was a Prebendary of St Paul's, and an intimate friend of its celebrated Dean, Dr Donne, who appointed him one of the executors of his will. After making the remark that our University, like Africa, *semper aliquid producit novi*, Symonds proceeds to give an account of an Act in Music. A Sophister 'came up' in the schools bringing with him a viol; and he commenced his proceedings by playing upon this viol an original 'lesson' or exercise. After this he entered upon his position 'of sol, fa, mi, la,' which he defended against three opponents. When the opponents had left him master of the field he played another piece, probably in a triumphant strain; which gave the Moderator occasion to observe that *ubi*

desinit philosophus, ibi incipit musicus. This CHAP.
Symonds has recorded as 'a very pretty jest.' VI.

CHAP.
VI.

1620

Prepara- tion for the festivities.

In other quarters also might be perceived the busy signs of preparation. From the kitchens there arose a fragrant testimony that the festive entertainment of the visitors were not forgotten ; while the unwonted noise of axes and hammers within the walls of St Mary's Church, told that their spectacular accommodation was also well provided for. In these degenerate days we can form but an imperfect idea of what a Great Commencement was in the time of James the first. In compliance with the fashion of the day, Symonds had fully purposed to present himself on the occasion in a new suit of apparel* ; but to his 'very great discontent' he 'missed of it,' through the 'forgetfulness of the carrier.' For Hobson, though still upon the road, was now growing old and oblivious.

In his well-worn suit, therefore, Symonds presented himself on the Sunday morning amid the throng in St Mary's church. The only seat he could find was upon the highest part of the scaffolding, behind the pulpit; 'very commodious,' but an indifferent place for hearing. Here he fixed himself between two of his 'very friendly acquaintance.' To his great surprise and dissatisfaction the sermon was read from a manu-

The Com-
mencement
Sermon.

Not
preached,
but *read*.

* Overbury's 'mere fellow of a House' never wears new clothes but 'against a Commencement.'

CHAP.
VI.

1620

The
opinion of
Charles II.
on reading
sermons.

script; and it was 'so palpably read,' as to give occasion to a waggish remark that the Doctor had always before this been accounted 'a man of better reading.' The sermon in the afternoon was preached, that is, delivered memoriter: and with this the anti-innovators were better satisfied. The practice of reading sermons, however, gained ground, especially after the Restoration; and in 1674, King Charles the second endeavoured to put a stop to it. His majesty deemed it to be at variance with 'the nature and intendment of that holy exercise;' and he directed that the Vice-Chancellor should signify to him the names of 'all such as should thereafter continue the present supine and slothful way of preaching.' His Majesty, however, is not altogether justified in an intimation which he makes that the said practice 'took its beginning with the disorders of the late times;' for we find an instance of it on the present occasion, in the most important part of the public ceremonial of the University, at a period prior to the commencement of those disorders by full twenty years.

Com-
mencement
Monday.

On the morning of Monday, the competition for seats was so eager that Symonds found it expedient to 'rise betimes, and take an early breakfast, and pass onwards to St Mary's' with as little delay as possible; and he whiled away the time until the business of the day commenced, partly in conversation and partly with a book.

At length the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Scott of Clare Hall, opened the proceedings of the day by a speech. After this, the King's Professor of Divinity, Dr Collins, who filled the office of Father, 'oratorized, as his manner was, most excellently.' It appears that although Collins was an Arminian, even the Calvinists found his quaint humour irresistible*. When this learned and facetious Professor's oration was ended, the Respondent in the Divinity Act, Dr Beale, afterwards the Master of St John's, and a distinguished royalist, came forward to read the questions of his position. Upon these questions the Professor was about to dispute, when he was 'cut off' by the Vice-Chancellor, who acted as Moderator; and the several opponents, all Doctors in Divinity, were directed to proceed with their work. After the disputation was finished, the Moderator pronounced a learned and copious Determination, and the Father dismissed his son the Respondent with some well-merited encomia. This was 'the full catastrophe.' It being 'about one of the clock' the assemblage broke up, excepting such as, like Symonds, desired to keep their places; and they adjourned for dinner.

CHAP.
VI.

1620

A Divinity
Act.

* On one occasion, when disputing before King James, his antagonist, Dr Field, saluted him as 'Colendissime Collins:' upon which he greeted him at once with the counter salutation of 'Ager colende.' He said that the obedience of that person who should understand the command of our Saviour literally, and pluck out his right eye, would be literally a *blind* kind of obedience.

CHAP.
VI.1620
An Act in
Law.

At three o'clock the combatants were ready for their afternoon's exhibition, which was an Act in Law. After an oration by each of the Proctors, the Prævaricator 'came up;' and when he 'was hushed' the disputing commenced. Symonds tells us little of the proceedings, excepting that the wit of the Prævaricator was 'indeed pitiful.' After all was ended, being invited to supper by the Junior brother, who was 'of our house,' Symonds had his share of the 'great feasting' which prevailed.

Com-
mencement
Tuesday.A Divinity
Act.

On the Tuesday Morning, Symonds came late, and was 'fain to rest contented with a very incommodious seat.' In the Divinity Act this day the Moderator was the Lady Margaret's Professor, Dr Davenant, a learned theologian of the Calvinistic school; and the Respondent was Symonds's friend Micklewaite, afterwards Preacher at the Temple. The opponents were seven commencing Doctors. When the Act was ended, the Regius Professor addressed them in a speech, and then 'gave them the final complemental investiture.' There was no interval allowed for dinner: our friend Symonds, however, went to dine with a friend at Trinity, one of the party being George Herbert, the Public Orator. In the Hall of Trinity he found 'good company and good cheer.' When he returned to St Mary's he found that the Philosophy Act had commenced, and that the Prævaricator was in the

A Philo-
sophy Act.

midst of his speech; but being in a 'remote corner,' he could hear very little of what was said. The senior Brother, that is, the senior commencing Master of Arts, 'disputed upon the Prævaricator,' and the several opponents took their turn with the Respondent. Then followed the oaths, and the investiture. After this was a Law Act; and with it 'our Commencement had a full end.' The festivities in the evening were kept up till a late hour: supper was not over 'until ten of the clock,' and Symonds laid not his head upon his pillow until after twelve. The next morning he 'slept chapel.'

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The in-
vestiture.

Soon after the Commencement 'a famous bull' arrived in Cambridge, and a rumour was soon spread abroad that 'he is to be baited at Hogmagog hills, and that all such exercises as bowling, running, jumping, shooting, and wrestling are to be practiced there for a month or six weeks, under the designation of the Olympic games.'

Olympic
games
at the
Gogmagog
Hills.

There once had been a time when bulls were baited in the very market-place of the town of Cambridge with impunity: but the brutal sport was now forbidden, and it was only by evading the vigilance of the authorities that its admirers could find an opportunity of indulging their taste. For this and the like purposes, the Gogmagog hills had become notorious as a place of resort; and when Symonds informs us that in returning from a ride he and his tutor came

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1620

Not
allowed to
take place.The
Assizes.Justice
Doddridge.Chief
Justice
Montague.

round by 'those well-known hills,' he takes care also to add, that he had never in his life been there before. They found that booths were erected, and that the scene was alive with 'preparation for the expected pastime.' But as they rode home-ward to Cambridge they met the Vice-Chancellor 'on his way to hinder, as many supposed, these vain and needless proceedings.' So that the Olympic games with all their classical associations were swept away, and the 'famous' bull was compelled to march off with his fame to some other arena where it would be better appreciated.

In the month of July the summer assize took place; and Symonds 'being drawn to the college gate by the sound of a trumpet,' saw the Judges make their formal entrance. The charge was delivered by Justice Doddridge, whom Symonds is proud to claim as 'of the West Country,' and whom he 'dare affirm to be the best lawyer and also the best scholar of his time.' A grim-looking portrait of this upright and excellent personage, in his judicial robes as when thus gazed upon by the admiring eyes of Symonds D'Ewes, may be seen among the paintings in the British Museum. The charge which he delivered met with Symonds's decided approbation; and it is contrasted with the 'poor stuff' uttered by the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Henry Montague, at the Assizes in spring. The Mon-

tague family had not as yet risen into favour with the Puritans. Four persons were sentenced to death by Mr Justice Doddridge; but two of these, being women, after they had ‘ascended the ladder and made a confession of their guilt,’ were reprieved. Symonds hasted from his dinner to be present at the execution, and he ‘much admired’ when he found that the poor wretches were ‘so ill instructed or prepared.’ He came back ‘hot and weary,’ for the day was sultry; and many who were present marvelled that a day of execution ‘should have passed over without rain.’

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VI.

1620

An execution.

Symonds had already been apprized that it was his father’s intention to remove him from college before the beginning of the next term, in order that he might commence residence in the Middle Temple, of which the far-sighted old lawyer had entered him as a member nine years before. This announcement unsettled him: and after the vacation had commenced, ‘the numbers in college every day growing less, some discontinuing* and some going down finally,’ he grew weary and discontented. His friends Holdsworth and Jeffray, who had each taken wing to the country of his birth, the one into the North and the other into the West, had each offered to admit him as a companion; but his father forbade it. He had got a promise, indeed, of a week’s visit at Stow-langtoft; but he sat so

Prospect of
D’Ewes’s
removal.

* Discontinuing their residence for a time.

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His im-
patience to
get down
to Stow-
langtoft.

long in his room, expecting from day to day the messenger with a summons, that his heart grew sick. If he chanced to hear of a stranger having been seen 'looking out for some one' in the college, he 'laboured hard' to find out who the stranger was. He was both friendless and penniless. 'If it be a happy thing to have never a cross, then was I happy: for I had scarcely a jot of coin.' In the bitterness of his heart he dwelt more than ever on the profligacy of some around him, and 'the grief it is to every honest soul to live in times of so much preaching and so little profit.' It was 'only yesternight' that a bachelor disturbed the whole college by his drunken outrages in the open court, and he is an old offender in that way; yet is he still allowed to make 'his harbour' in St John's, for he is a countryman of 'our learned* Master,' who cannot 'find in his heart to expel him.'

Journey
to Stow-
langtoft.

But no sooner did the messenger and the horses arrive from Stow-langtoft, than this moroseness vanished. Several of those who were still in college came so kindly to take leave of him, that he found 'more humanity' than he had met with for months before, and he expressed his thankfulness for 'this sweet after sorrow.' The summons arrived one evening about supper-time, and before six the next day he was already on his nag, taking 'the cool of the morning.'

* To the word *learned* is added—'*per ironiam.*'

In this ride to Stow-langtoft, Symonds took the opportunity of going round by 'Kediton hall' near Clare, in order to pay his respects to his friend Sir Nathanael Barnardiston, one of the leaders of the Puritan party in the county of Suffolk; whose niece, Anne Clopton, in process of time became his wife*. It was late, and 'very dark,' when he arrived at Stow-langtoft; but the welcome he received from his father, and his sisters, and his 'little only brother †,' filled him with 'all joy and comfort.' He spent ten days with them most happily; watching the process of his father's building and improvements, conversing with him on family matters of business, and reading Hollinshead's Chronicles, 'in two volumes, very fairly bound.' For one day they enjoyed the company of Mr Beeston, who rode over from Cambridge to visit them and to bring them the news. From his connexion with the Earl of Southampton, this gentleman was looked upon

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Sir Na-
thanael
Bar-
nardiston.

D'Ewes's
occu-
pations in
the
country.

* For his extravagant expressions of attachment to this lady, amounting 'fere usque ad amentiam,' and for his doting admiration of her 'long white hands, and round and slender fingers,' D'Ewes has been unmercifully ridiculed. See Hearne, in Lib. Nig. Scaccarii, II. 643.

† This 'little only brother' gave to Symonds in after life much trouble and anxiety, being left by their father to his guardianship. Gay, good-natured, and thoughtless, he preferred the society of the Cavaliers to the austerities of the party with which he was connected by birth; and having attained the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the King's Service he was killed at the siege of Reading.

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VI.

1620

Relative
astuteness
of Gon-
domar
and King
James.

as a valuable authority in matters of public interest; and it was with satisfaction, therefore, that the family received an assurance from him that although Gondomar the Spanish ambassador 'is one of the wisest men and greatest politicians in Europe,' yet is he 'truly matched in his own cunning by the wisdom of our Sovereign, King James.' In vain were their attempts to persuade Mr Beeston to prolong his stay with them; he had promised 'his young lord' that he would return, and 'no entreaties could detain him so much as an hour.' After a few more days Symonds himself was constrained to leave behind him 'the pleasant walks and the sweet air' by which he was constantly 'enticed forth,' and to return to 'the beastly air' of Cambridge.

D'Ewes
again at
Cam-
bridge.

Here he had to make what 'shift' he could with 'poor commons and poor company,' and for some time the 'country content and country cogitations hung about' him. He was glad to leave for a while his own chamber, and to occupy the more commodious one of his tutor Holdsworth, who was still absent in the North. Jeffray, having his lectureship at Little St Mary's to attend to, had already returned to his post; and in his company Symonds spent several evenings with pleasure and profit. On one occasion, there being present another fellow of Pembroke, by name Felton, a son of the learned Bishop of

Ely *, Jeffray amused them with ‘a most effectual and vivacious description’ of his having seen the King, ‘then in his progress’ at Salisbury, where the new Bishop, Dr Townson, preached before him. He also gave them a summary of the state of public affairs on the continent. How the French King, Louis XIII., and the Queen mother, ‘after pretending to fall out,’ had mustered their forces to the number of 50,000 men, either with a view to attack the Protestants in France, or to assist the Emperor against the King of Bohemia. How the Protestant princes, warned by ‘the late miserable massacre,’ were ‘standing providently on their guard.’ How a large number of the Grisons ‘had been slain while at divine exercises in the church:—men, women, and children.’ How ‘an ingenious statist’ in London had summoned up the forces in Bohemia, on the Palsgrave’s side, and on the side of the Emperor, which are about to meet with such ‘strength and determination’ on both sides, as ‘to make it plain that the quarrel can never be ended but by the downfall of one of the competitors, and the shedding of much Christian blood.’

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1620

Foreign
news.

*

—— “Generis humani decus,
Qui rex sacrorum illa fuisti in insula
Quæ nomen Anguillæ tenet.”

See Milton’s elegy upon this learned prelate, written when at College. He was one of the Translators of the Bible, and had formerly been the Master of Pembroke.

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Domestic
news.

Thomas,
twentieth
Earl of
Arundel.

The news-
letter.

A pretty
pastime.

Of 'home-bred' news Mr Jeffray told them that a certain schoolmaster, being 'poor, but honest,' had 'put a disgrace upon' the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, by refusing to give the boys a holyday at his request. Also, that 'the Earl of Arundel, the great Papist, is confined to his house by the King's order.'

The Earl of Arundel was never a favourite at court; and this story of his imprisonment will easily be credited, when we remember that his lofty bearing and independence of spirit rendered him obnoxious in an especial degree to the resentment of the favourite Buckingham. The designation here applied to him shews sufficiently that the sincerity of his professions of attachment to the Church of England, to which communion he had joined himself about six years ago, was by some considered doubtful. His munificence as a patron of art, and the association of his name with some of the most celebrated relics of Greek and Roman antiquity, are too well known to require more than this passing allusion.

This budget of intelligence was immediately transmitted by letter to several of Symonds's friends in the country: the news-letter of these days,—tardy, uncertain, and imperfect as it was,—being the only mode as yet devised for answering the purposes of our modern newspaper.

In the lack of other means to divert his thoughts during this period of comparative soli-

tude, Symonds went into the town to see ‘a pretty pastime called dancing upon the ropes.’ He had some misgivings as to the propriety of visiting such a place of amusement; and both in London and at Bury, where the same performance had lately been exhibiting, he had denied himself the indulgence. He came away, however, ‘highly contented for the money’ he had paid, finding that ‘there was little hurt in it, save some few idle words.’

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It has been already stated that Symonds was now occupying ‘the good chamber’ of his tutor Holdsworth, in which he enjoyed ‘a better air,’ and more comforts than in his own. He tells us that one night he had gone to bed soon after eight o’clock, ‘it being somewhat dark,’ and was already ‘couched under the warm clothes,’ when there came ‘a sudden bouncing at the door and window.’ This was his tutor, ‘newly come to town * from his long journey :’ and Symonds was obliged to rise and let him in. ‘Other company’ dropped in to greet Mr Holdsworth on his arrival, and Symonds sat up in conversation with them until a late hour. The next day, being the day on which he took back his chattels to his own chamber, he marks ‘*atro carbone.*’

Return of
Holdsworth.

As soon as September began, the conversation in Hall was taken up with the approaching Stour-bridge fair, which at that time was the resort of

Stour-
bridge fair.

* The town of Cambridge—this is the usual phrase for coming up.

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dealers and purchasers from the whole of the Eastern counties, and even from London itself. Before the Reformation it had been 'the most notable fair in the realm' for dried and salted fish, supplies being laid in for the winter and the ensuing Lent: and although in this department the traffic had much fallen off, it was still a mart of no ordinary importance. In the following September, Symonds, being then at his father's house at Stow-langtoft, mentions 'certain Londoners' coming round that way, 'on their way home from Stourbridge fair.' Symonds learned from what he picked up during the conversation in the Hall, that the best bargains were generally made before the fair had ostensibly commenced, but that the goods were not delivered out to the purchasers until after the Proclamation.

The ceremonial commenced with a dinner given by the Proctors to the heads of the University. In the hall of St John's they 'went to dinner' at nine o'clock; and 'having quickly ended, by reason of short commons, the greater part of the undergraduates did run presently to the fair.' But Symonds went not thither until the end of a full week. One day he 'walked forth' with his 'ancient' friend Mr Beeston, and they conversed on the lands and possessions of the nobility: his friend assuring him that 'few subjects were worth £5000. per annum of old rents.' Another day he received religious advice from his tutor. Another day he walked with

one of the fellows 'to view the mighty trench of the most strong and ancient Castle of Cambridge;' having mounted the hill, they quickly perceived that it 'might easily command the whole town.' Another day he went to hear a sermon from his friend Jeffray at Little St Mary's, 'fitting the season of the fair.' Another day he intended to 'go a proctoring,' having never yet been 'a companion in those necessary night-walks,' though he had been 'resident in the University almost to the dignity of a Senior Sophister*.' In this, however, he failed of his intent. At length, having been called upon by his friend the 'pastor' of Kedington in Suffolk, who had come up to make purchases, he accompanied that gentleman to the fair; and being present with him while he bargained for 'the household stuff and other commodities' that he desired to purchase, Symonds 'gathered some wisdom.' After all was ended, they supped together at the Crown; and he enjoyed more 'honest mirth' than he had been 'partaker of' for a long time.

D'Ewes
intended to
go a proc-
toring.

As the time drew near for his departure from

* Among the early decrees of the Heads is one, which, after stating 'that sundry disorders have fallen out, especially in the night time, in consequence of Scholars going forth into the Town pretending the Proctor's authority,' denounces against all such practices the punishment of the stocks. In the cases alluded to by D'Ewes the Proctor himself was present.

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VI.

1620

Finds it
difficult to
dispose of
his fur-
niture.

the University, Symonds found himself fully occupied. Mr Holdsworth had proposed to take him to visit a friend in Essex; but his books were to be packed, and his furniture disposed of, so that he could not spare time for the journey. In the latter business he made little progress; for though he 'laboured much,' it was a long time before he could 'put off any thing, save a bedstead.' Indeed 'the scarcity of silver everywhere, and especially in the college,' made him 'almost despair of meeting with a chapman,' to his 'no small discontent:' and it was not until the night before his departure that 'a happy period was added to all things saleable.'

While he was busily occupied in his rooms one evening, 'the shutts' being closed of his windows, two of his friends from Pembroke came to take their leave of him; one of them being his much respected friend Mr Jeffray, of whose 'excellent' sermons he had taken leave on the Sunday before. Perceiving no candle, they 'concluded presently' that he was not within; and it was merely by accident that he lighted upon them a short time afterwards, to his 'great admiration and joy.' Another evening he spent in Lord Wriothesley's chamber. Two fellows of the college came another evening, and remained with him until eight of the clock; when 'they departed, like careful tutors, to their pupils.' His last evening was spent somewhat less agree-

ably in an interview with Mr Holdsworth, CHAP.
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who now for the first time laid before him a

1620

statement of his college debts; that is, of the total amount in which his expenditure had exceeded his allowance during a period of more than two years. Having been fully possessed with the notion that he was 'somewhat beforehand' with his tutor, inasmuch as he had always lived with the strictest frugality, it surprised him no little to find that he was a debtor to the amount of thirteen pounds. It 'grieved' him much, and he feared it would 'anger' his father still more. The arrival of his father's servant with the horses, an event to which he had been looking forward for a long time and most eagerly, gave him very little pleasure; and he poured out his sad and sorrowful reflections in the following strain.

His amazement on receiving the Tutor's account.

'Now approaches that gloomy, or rather that fatal day, in which I am to leave my dearest Mother, of whose pure milk I have drank so many months, and fed upon her daintiest bits. Though not about to forsake the sciences themselves, I am to depart from the patroness and faultrice of them. Oh, shall I ever forget the hour, when my books and my other things being stripped away, and my chamber mourning, as it were, for the want of its accustomed ornaments, my friends are now visiting me to say farewell! Of all these, which I have loved so well, I am

Final valediction to his Alma Mater.

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even now about to suffer the privation. It was the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year 1618, that embraced my admittance; and it is this present twenty-second day of September, 1620, which now shadows my departure. I have just begun to gain strength, by the continuance of strong food, and thus am I suddenly snatched away from it. I have tasted of the several sciences, though I have not yet ascended to metaphysics or any mathematics. These would follow, if I could have remained longer. But although many things on my now departing do thus distract me, yet it is not altogether without mine own consent; for when the vices of the University which I am leaving come into my thoughts, a sort of content is prepared thereby. So then, farewell, dear Mother!—farewell, dear Schools!—farewell, happy lectures!—farewell, faithful friends!—Ye lose a son in person, though not in affection; an auditor in sense, though not in desire; a frequenter in substance, though not in circumstance; and a true well-wisher in his absent thoughts, as hitherto in his present words.'

Betimes the next morning his father's man came to pack up the remainder of his 'commodities:' and with the money received for the furniture which had been sold, Symonds discharged all his tradesmen's debts, so that nothing remained unpaid but what was owing to the tutor.

He called to take leave of the senior Dean, and the Master; upon each of whom he 'put a compliment somewhat hard-strained.' Having finished these 'collegial offices,' and having spent a little more time in the company of certain 'kind friends' who had come to bid him farewell, he took Holdsworth and Jeffray to a dinner which he had provided for them at the Crown. Others were invited; but 'through one passage or other they failed.' At one o'clock, amid 'the disastrous valedictions' of some who had come from St John's to see them depart, our hero accompanied by Mr Holdsworth rode off for Stowlangtoft; where they arrived just as Mr D'Ewes senior was sitting down to supper. Symonds's supper was spoiled by the thoughts of the account which lay in his tutor's pocket; and as soon as prayers were ended he retired to rest.

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Takes leave
of the Mas-
ter and the
Senior
Dean.Arrival at
Stowlang-
toft.

The next day, which was Saturday, passed over quietly, for the delicate and painful subject was never alluded to; though Symonds must have felt some qualms while he listened to the thrifty old man's complacent description of a purchase in the neighbourhood which he had lately made to much advantage. On Sunday Mr Holdsworth preached twice in Stowlangtoft Church, 'so sweetly and profitably' that Symonds loved him better than ever. And when on the Monday he 'made show of a strong resolution' to go back to St John's, Symonds found that the

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VI.

1620

D'Ewes
senior
much dis-
pleased
with the
tutor's ac-
count.

momentous secret must now come out. Never had he fully understood before 'how potent a queen money is, nor how truly anger is a madness.' The scene, distressing enough as it was, might probably have become even more so, had not the coach been already waiting at the door to convey the family to the lecture at Bury. As they drove along Symonds 'hardly spoke a word,' or 'suffered the least smile to pass' from him. His mortification was increased by the old man's distant carriage towards Mr Holdsworth, making it thereby manifest that he looked upon the tutor as no less culpable than his pupil. And although he got some consolation from the sermon, in which it was shewn that 'he who thinks to travel to heaven along an easy road, is wrong:'—and although he dined with his tutor at the Ship; and in company with one of the Drurys of Hawstead paid a visit to his old master at the Grammar School, who at their request gave the scholars 'a remedy:'—nevertheless he 'jogged' home again in the coach not a whit more lively than he had been in the morning. He was unable to 'eradicate' his 'deep-settled melancholy,' and he went to rest that night 'with no little grief and doubt.'

The next morning, however, on seeking his father 'as soon as he had risen,' Symonds found him somewhat more reasonable. He had not let the sun go down upon his wrath. He not

CHAP.
VI.

1620

The father
relents.

only listened to his son's arguments 'more mildly and patiently,' but he also paid the money in full; and taking leave of Mr Holdsworth 'in some friendly sort,' he gave his son permission to 'bring him on his way to Cambridge.' With this our hero was 'not a little joyed.' After an early breakfast they started, and rode together most pleasantly. Among other good counsels, Holdsworth bade his pupil ever to be thankful to God 'for his providential deliverance when so nearly slain by the ringing of the college bell on S^t Thomas's day in the first year after he entered.' Symonds thought there was reason to believe that not only he, but all his 'tribe,' were under a special protection. He could not bring himself to put an end to this agreeable and profitable conversation until they arrived at Barrow bridge, 'four miles further than Bury.' Here they parted. The connexion between them, apparently so satisfactory to both, and certainly so beneficial to the pupil, had now come to an end. Yet for a long time after this, whenever the young Templar has occasion to introduce the name of Holdsworth, he ceases not to use the accustomed designation of,—'my loving Tutor.'

The part-
ing of
D'Ewes
and his
tutor.

THE END.

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